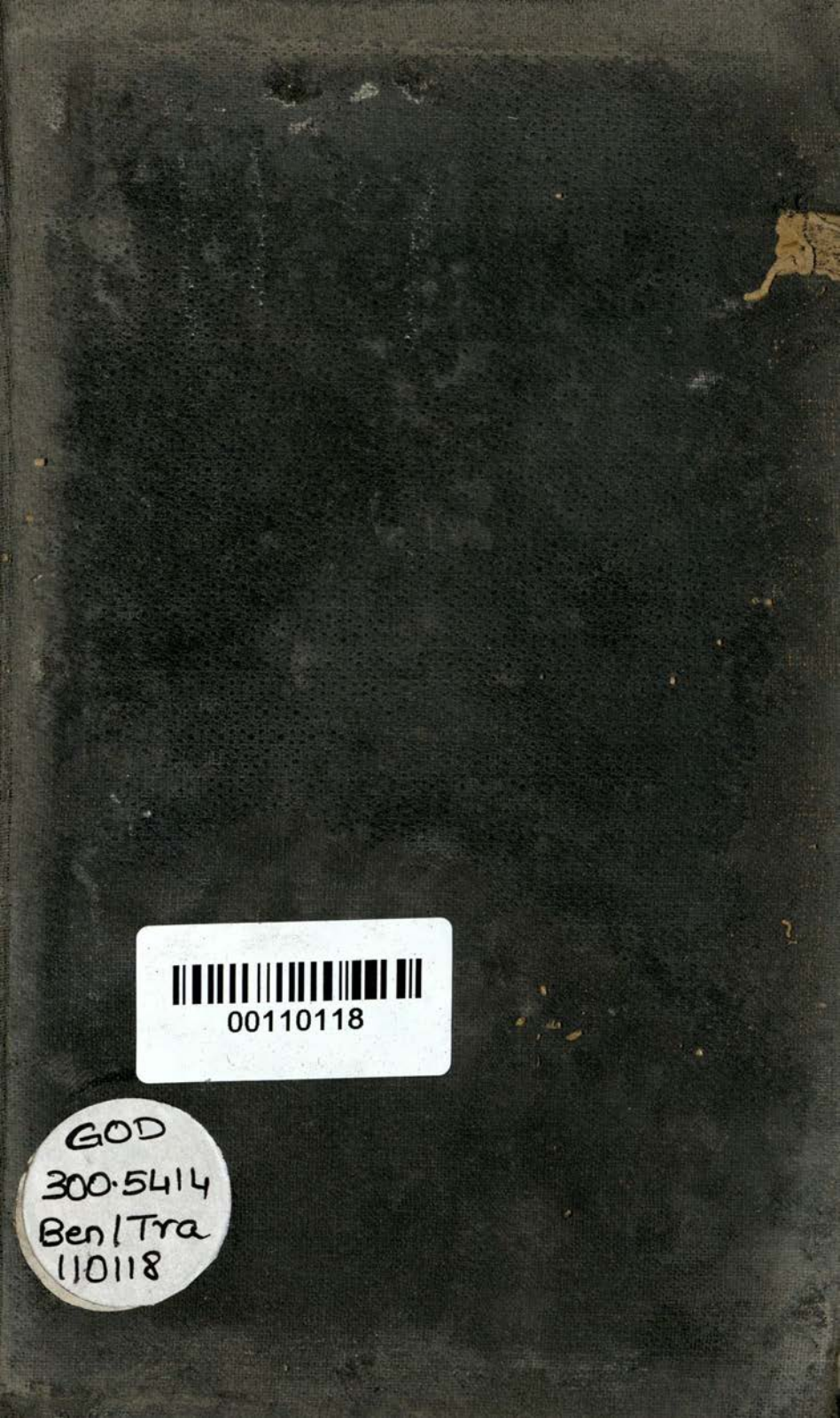

00110118
GOD
300.5414
Ben/Tra
110118

00110118

Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 28 December, 2018

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bengal Social Science Association.

EDITED BY

THE GENERAL SECRETARIES.

SECOND SESSION.

January 1868.

VOL. II. — PART I.

CALCUTTA:
W. NEWMAN AND COMPANY
3 DALHOUSIE SQUARE, E.

1868.

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
Royal Asiatic Society.

BENGAL SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

Patrons.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AND GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA.

HIS HONOR THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

President.

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE PHEAR.

Vice-Presidents.

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE NORMAN.

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE DWARKANATH MITTRA.

Council.

W. S. ATKINSON, ESQ.
T. FARQUHAR, M.D.
J. E. KNIGHT, ESQ.
THE REV. J. LONG.
A. MACKENZIE, ESQ., C.S.
F. J. MOUAT, M.D.
SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I.
MAJOR F. B. NORMAN.
S. G. CHUCKERBUTTY, M.D.
THE REV. PROFESSOR K. M. BANERJEA.
BABU JUGGODANUND MOOKERJEA.
„ RAM CHUNDER MITTRA.
„ GREESH CHUNDER GHOSE.
MANOCKJEE RUSTOMJEE, ESQ.
MOULVI ABDOOL LUTEEF KHAN BAHADOOR.

Secretaries.

H. BEVERLEY, ESQ., C.S.

BABU PEARY CHAND MITTRA.

Sections.

I.—JURISPRUDENCE AND LAW.

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE NORMAN.
A. MACKENZIE, ESQ., C.S.
J. H. A. BRANSON, ESQ.
MOULVI ABDOOL LUTEEF KHAN BAHADUR.
BABU ROMANATH LAW.
THE HON'BLE DWARKANATH MITTRA.
BABU CHUNDERNATH BOSE, M.A.
THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARIES OF THE ASSOCIATION.
BABU SHAMA CHURN SIRCAR.

II.—EDUCATION.

W. S. ATKINSON, ESQ., *Chairman.*
SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I.
H. WOODROW, ESQ.
THE REV. J. LONG.
BABU KISSORY CHAND MITTRA.
„ RAM CHUNDER MITTRA.
„ BHUDEB MOOKERJEA.
MOULVI ABDOOL LUTEEF KHAN BAHADUR.
THE REV. K. M. BANERJEA.
THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARIES OF THE ASSOCIATION.
H. H. LOCKE, ESQ. } *Secre-*
BABU CHUNDRONATH BOSE, M.A. } *taries.*

III.—HEALTH.

T. FARQUHAR, M.D.
MAJOR G. B. MALLESON.
„ F. B. NORMAN.
J. EWART, M.D.
J. ANDERSON, M.D.
A. V. BEST, M.D.
NORMAN CHEVERS, M.D.
S. G. CHUCKERBUTTY, M.D.
J. FAWCUS, M.D.
A. J. PAYNE, M.D.
J. FAYRER, M.D.
BABOO KOYLAS CHUNDRA BOSE.
„ KANNY LAL DEY.
THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARIES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

IV.—ECONOMY AND TRADE.

T. FARQUHAR, M.D.
MAJOR F. B. NORMAN.
J. B. KNIGHT, ESQ.
MANOCKJEE RUSTOMJEE, ESQ.
A. MACKENZIE, ESQ., C.S.
J. G. BOWERMAN, ESQ.
C. LAZARUS, ESQ.
BABOO GREESH CHUNDER GHOSE.
THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARIES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

RULES.

Object.

I. The object of the Association is to promote the development of Social Science in the Presidency of Bengal.

Membership.

II. Any person who pays an annual subscription of Twelve Rupees, or a life subscription of One Hundred Rupees, shall be a member of the Association.

III. Every member shall have the right of attending and voting at the annual, quarterly, and special meetings of the Association, of being eligible to any of its offices, and of receiving a copy of its Transactions.

IV. The annual subscription shall be payable in advance on the first day of January in each year.

V. Any member whose annual subscription shall not be paid before the end of the year for which it is due, shall be liable to have his name struck off the list of members by the Council.

VI. Any member desirous of withdrawing from the Association must communicate his wish to the Secretaries in writing, but he will be liable for the subscription of the year in which such communication is received.

Officers and Government.

VII. The Association shall have a President, two Vice-Presidents, and two Honorary Secretaries, who are also Treasurers.

VIII. The Association shall be governed by a Council, consisting of fifteen ordinary members, besides the above office-bearers. The Council may fill up vacancies in its own body as they occur during the year.

IX. All office-bearers and ordinary members of Council shall be elected at the annual meeting, and shall hold office till the annual meeting next ensuing; they shall be eligible for re-election. (This rule shall apply to all Officers elected by the Council during the year.)

X. The Council shall ordinarily meet once a quarter, and when specially summoned together by the President of the Association, or at the requisition of any five members of the Council.

Departments and Sections.

XI. The Association shall be divided into four departments: the *first*, for *Jurisprudence and Law;* the *second*, for *Education;* the *third*, for *Health;* and the *fourth*, for *Economy and Trade.*

XII. The Council shall divide itself into sections corresponding to the above departments. The President and Secretaries shall be *ex-officio* members of every section. Each section may appoint its own Chairman and Secretary, who, if not already members of the Council under Rule 9, shall have the right of taking part in its deliberations and of voting at its meetings.

XIII. The work of a section shall consist in collecting, classifying, and arranging the papers and information relating to its own department. For this purpose it may associate with itself other members of the Association.

Sub-committees.

XIV. The Council may also form other Sub-Committees of its body for special purposes, and such Sub-Committees shall also have the power of adding to their number other members of the Association. The President and Secretaries are *ex-officio* members of all sub-Committees.

Meetings.

XV. The meetings of the Association shall be annual, quarterly, and special.

XVI. The annual and quarterly meetings of the Association shall be held in Calcutta. The former shall be convened by the Council in January of each year, and the latter in the months of January, March, July, and November.

XVII. Special meetings of the Association may be convened by the Council at such time and place and for such purpose as they shall think fit.

XVIII. At the annual meeting of the Association, the President, or one of the Vice-Presidents, shall deliver an address, and the general and sectional reports for the past year shall be read.

XIX. The quarterly meetings of the Association shall be held for the reading and discussion of papers merely.

SECRETARIAT.

XX. The Honorary Secretaries shall, by mutual agreement, divide the duties of their office between them, reporting such arrangement to the Council.

ACCOUNTS.

XXI. The accounts of the Association shall be audited by two members of the Association, not being members of Council, who shall be appointed at the annual meeting.

XXII. The funds of the Association shall be lodged in the Bank of Bengal, and cheques shall be drawn only upon the signature of the President (or one of the Vice-Presidents) and one of the Secretaries.

BRANCH ASSOCIATIONS.

XXIII. The Association shall correspond with, and affiliate to itself, Branch Associations established out of Calcutta.

XXIV. As a condition of such affiliation, Branch Associations shall pay to the funds of the Parent Association a sum of six rupees per annum for each one of their members, in return for which such members shall be entitled to a copy of its Transactions, and to the privilege of attending its meetings in Calcutta or elsewhere.

REGULATIONS RELATING TO PAPERS.

1. With a view to direct the communications of members and others into the most useful channels, the Council have drawn up certains heads of enquiry in each department. But it is not intended to confine discussion to these particular subjects; papers on other interesting topics which may occur to individuals will also be accepted by the Council.

2. All papers should be sent to the Honorary Secretaries at the Metcalfe Hall, at least one month before the meeting at which they are to be read. On the first page of every paper should be written the subject, and the name and address of the author.

3. As a rule, all papers shall be submitted by the General Secretaries to the section which they may concern, upon whose recommendation alone they shall be accepted by the Council, provided that in special cases in which the President may think it conducive to the interests of the Society, he may, on the inspection of a paper, exercise his discretion in accepting it without previous submission to the section.

4. A paper will ordinarily be read by its author, or by some friend nominated by him for the purpose; failing such, it will be read by the Secretary in the particular department which it concerns.

5. Papers, when read, should be left with the Secretary to the Department, by whom they will be returned to the General Secretaries.

6. No paper, already published, can be read. No paper, which has been accepted, can be published privately, except by permission of the Council.

7. The Council may print any paper either in whole or in part, or may exclude any paper altogether from the Transactions, as they see fit. Members of the Association will be entitled to twenty spare copies of any printed papers which they may contribute.

8. All papers should be composed in as clear and concise a style as possible. They should be confined, as far as practicable, to the relation of facts and observations bearing upon the question, and should avoid, as far as may be, the enunciation of general principles and of philosophical theories and reflections. It is quite true that the promotion of Social Science demands that deductions should be drawn from ascertained facts, but it is believed that the requisite *data* have not yet been accumulated, and that the Association will, for the present at least, be most beneficially engaged in the collection of Social Statistics.

9. With a view to preserve the object with which general meetings of the Association are held, *viz.*, the discussion of the subjects which may be then introduced, no papers shall be read *in extenso* which will occupy more than a quarter of an hour in the reading, but in the event of the paper being longer, a *précis* or abstract shall be read instead. Such abstract shall be submitted for the approval of the Council together with the original paper.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1867.

In presenting their first Annual Report, the Council desire to refer to the Introductory Part of the first number of the Society's Transactions, published a few months since, for a brief narrative of the early history of the Association. Notwithstanding several resignations which took place at the beginning of the year, the number of the Society's members has steadily increased, and there is therefore every reason to suppose that the Association is gaining confidence and importance in the eyes of the community. The total number of members who have been enrolled during the year, inclusive of the members of the Connaghur Branch Association, who are in a manner members of this Association also, is 202. It must be remembered that hitherto the Association has, as it were, been on its trial; but now that it has completed the first year of its existence, the Council have every confidence that it will receive the warm support of all those who are interested in the social welfare of this country.

Meetings.—A quarterly session of the Association was held in July, and extended over three evenings. Besides the President's inaugural Address, ten papers on various subjects were read in the different Sections, and the greater part of them have since been published in the Transactions of the Association. In November the Council exercised their discretion in postponing the ordinary quarterly meeting of the Society, as no papers were reported to be ready for reading and discussion at that meeting.

Council.—The subjects which have engaged the attention of the Council since the meeting in July last are (1) the condition of the agricultural classes in Bengal; (2) the condition of the native artizan classes in Calcutta, and the expediency of holding an Exhibition of native arts and manufactures in connection with the Society; and (3) native female education. Questions regarding the agricultural classes were printed and widely circulated.* They were also translated into Bengali for the use of those gentlemen who were unacquainted with the English language; and the Council are happy to state that replies to these queries are now being received almost daily. The inquiries relating to the artizan classes and female education have also been issued.* It is to be hoped that those interested in either subject will aid the Society with the information requested, and that both the mercantile and trading communities will show their appreciation of the utility of the proposed Exhibition by active co-operation with the Association.

Transactions.—One number of the Transactions was published during the year, and copies have been distributed to the members of the Association free of charge. The Council have much pleasure in acknowledging the support which has been accorded to the Society's publication by the Supreme and the several local Governments.

The	Government	of India has subscribed for	25	copies.
„	„	of Bengal	20	„
„	„	of North-West Provinces	50	„
„	„	of Punjab	12	„
„	„	of Madras	25	„
„	„	of Bombay	41	„
			173	copies.

* See pages xi—xiv.

Finance.—The total subscriptions for the year aggregated Rs. 2,382, of which Rs. 1,498 have been collected. The Council regret that so large a balance should still be outstanding, and they trust that members will in future see the necessity of punctuality in paying their subscriptions, in order to enable the Secretaries to meet the engagements of the Association. There have been some small receipts from the sale of the Transactions. The annual expenditure during the year amounted to Rs. 1,202, leaving a balance in hand of Rs. 491. The liabilities of the Association amount to Rs. 569 against assets, which are estimated at Rs. 638. The financial results of the year are therefore encouraging so far as they show a surplus. The accounts for the year have been passed by the Finance Committee, and under Rule 21 it is now necessary to appoint as auditors two members of the Association who have not also been members of the Council during the past year.

Branch Associations.—One of the objects of this Association is to promote the study of social questions by the affiliation of Branch Associations in the Mofussil. One such Association has been affiliated during the year at Connaghur, through the exertions of Babu Shib Chunder Deb of that place, and the Council are desirous of encouraging the formation of similar Societies elsewhere.

Library.—It was notified at the last session that a commencement had been made towards the formation of a Statistical Library of Reference, and it is now the pleasing duty of the Council to acknowledge the numerous presentations they have received during the year from the various Governments as well as from private individuals. A list of these books will be appended to the next number of the Transactions.

The Rules of the Association which were drawn up on the basis approved in January last, and the regulation regarding papers which have been prescribed by the Council, require the confirmation of this meeting. The Council would recommend, however, a slight alteration in the constitution of the Association. It has been found desirable that the Secretaries to the different sections should also be admitted to and take part in the meetings of the Council, and it is therefore proposed to add to Rule 12 the words "who, if not already members of the Council under Rule 9, shall have the right of taking part in its deliberations and of voting at its meetings." As this is an alteration which affects to some extent the constitution of the Association, the Council do not consider that they have the power to effect it of their own motion.

The Annual Meeting at which the above Report was read, was held in the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the evening of Wednesday, the 29th January 1868. It was unfortunate that the day in question was the great Hindu festival of *Sri Punchomi,* and this fact doubtless prevented the attendance of many Native gentlemen who were desirous of being present at the Meeting. The occurrence of the festival was not brought to the notice of the Council at the time the day was fixed, and when the mistake was discovered, although a meeting of the Council was specially called to consider the matter, it was found impossible to make any alteration in the previous arrangements. As it was, there was a considerable audience of members and visitors, and the meeting was attended by His Excellency the Viceroy, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. The annual address was delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Phear, President of the Association, and will be found in the present number of the Transactions.

The Council and the Office Bearers elected for the present year are as follows:—

President.

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE PHEAR.

Vice-Presidents.

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE NORMAN.
THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE DWARKA NATH MITTRA.

Council.

W. S. ATKINSON, ESQ.
T. FARQUHAR, M.D.
J. B. KNIGHT, ESQ.
THE REV. J. LONG.
A. MACKENZIE, C.S.
F. J. MOUAT, M.D.
SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I.
MAJOR F. B. NORMAN.
S. G. CHUCKERBUTTY, M.D.
THE REV. PROFESSOR K. M. BANERJEA.
BABU JUGGODANUND MOOKERJEA.
„ RAM CHUNDER MITTRA.
„ GREESH CHUNDER GHOSE.
MANOCKJEE RUSTOMJEE, ESQ.
MOULVI ABDOOL LUTEEF KHAN BAHADOOR.

Secretaries.

H. BEVERLEY, ESQ., C. S.
BABU PEARY CHAND MITTRA.

The quarterly session of the Association was held on the following day. The sections of *Jurisprudence and Law* and of *Economy and Trade* met in the morning, and those of *Education* and *Health* in the evening. Most of the papers that were read on that occasion, and an abstract of the discussion that ensued, will be found in the following pages.

It may not be out of place to add that, at the request of the Council, His Excellency the Viceroy, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and the Lord Bishop of Calcutta have accepted the office of Patrons of the Association, and in doing so, have expressed their entire sympathy with the objects of the Society and their readiness at any time to render it such assistance as may lie within their power.

H. BEVERLEY,
PEARY CHAND MITTRA, } *Hony. Secretaries.*

Abstract Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for 1867.

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
To Stationery and petty charges	300	5	6	By amount of subscriptions received	1,498	0	0
„ Meeting charges	72	9	9	sale of the Transactions	196	4	0
„ Establishment charges	579	9	0				
„ Advertising and Printing charges	226	2	0				
„ Postage account	24	3	0				
	1,202	13	3				
Balance in hand	491	6	9				
Rs.	1,694	4	0	Rs.	1,694	4	0
				ASSETS.			
LIABILITIES.				Amount of subscription bills ... 2,382 0 0			
Bills for printing the Transactions, &c. ...	569	0	0	Collected ... 1,498 0 0			
				Irrecoverable ... 324 0 0			
				1,822 0 0			
				Balance of bills in hand	560	0	0
				Amount due by the Punjab Government for 12 copies of the Transactions	25	6	0
				Amount due by the Madras Government for 25 copies of the Transactions	53	4	0
	569	0	0		638	10	0

The 17*th January* 1868.

Audited this day.
F. B. NORMAN, *Major*.
M. RUSTOMJEE.

SUBJECTS OF ENQUIRY.

Inquiries regarding Female Education.

1. How many schools do you know of in your district, or neighbourhood, for the instruction of females? and are such schools for girls only, or for the instruction of girls and boys together?

NOTE.—In the replies to this question, some designation or description of the schools referred to should be given, so that, in the event of the same schools being returned in different answers, they may be identified, and not counted more than once.

2. How many female scholars are there on the rolls of such schools collectively, and what is the average daily attendance?

3. Can you say whether caste has any influence upon the admission of girls to such schools?

4. At what age do girls generally enter school, and how long do they remain?

5. State the causes, so far as you are aware of them, of the withdrawal of female pupils from school?

6. What is the course of study generally pursued in the schools with which you are acquainted, and state in particular whether English or needlework is taught in them?

7. Have you observed any difference in the progress made generally by all the girls in a school, as compared with that of the pupils in a boys' school of a similar kind?

8. State as nearly as you can the number of male and female teachers respectively employed in the schools to which you are referring, and whether any school is under female superintendence or charge solely?

9. To what extent does it appear to you that education is continued after the girls are withdrawn from school?

10. To what extent do you consider that female education has increased within the last five years, both as to the numbers taught and the nature of instruction imparted?

11. Do you think zenana education more adapted to the circumstances of the natives of this country than school education?

12. State whether any social difficulties hinder the instruction of females in the family house, and in particular whether the Hindu family system places any peculiar difficulties in the way of young married women being educated by their husbands?

13. What is your opinion on the subject of normal schools?

14. Do you approve of the suggestion to select widows as teachers, or do you think the employment of married women preferable?

15. State any opinions which you may entertain as to the best means of promoting and extending female education?

Answers to the above questions, or any information bearing upon the subject of this paper, may be sent to either of the Secretaries of the Association (H. Beverley, Esq, C.S., or Babu Peary Chand Mittra) at the Metcalfe Hall, or to the Secretary to the Education Section, H. H. Locke, Esq., Bengal Club.

Inquiries regarding Agriculture and the condition of the Agricultural classes.

1. What crops are grown in your district, and in what proportions?

2. How many crops are produced on the same land in the year? State what they are, distinguishing between those that are sown simultaneously and those that are sown in rotation. Is land in your district allowed to lie fallow? If so, at what intervals, and for what period?

3. What is the average extent of ground actually cultivated by each ryot?

4. Do ryots to any extent (and if so, to what extent) employ *hired* labour? Or does any practice exist under which ryots holding *distinct* lands assist each other by the *loan* of labour and implements?

Is there any cultivation carried on by means of an educated class applying their own capital to the purpose, and themselves directing the cultivation by hired labour?

5. To what extent do individuals or families combine in taking and cultivating land? Is there any competition in regard to the taking of land, and if not, how are rents regulated?

6. What capital does a ryot usually possess in the shape of cattle, implements, grain, or other stored produce, buildings, or available money? How many acres is it commonly estimated that each plough will cultivate?

7. Is there any ryot in your district who has capital as above, so as to be independent of the Mahajun?

8. What shape do the Mahajun's advances usually take, and in what shape and to what extent are they repaid? Is the account between the ryot and the Mahajun annually settled and the balance discharged?

9. State the manner in which the produce of the soil, distinguishing between different crops, is disposed of? Trace it from the field to the consumer. Does the cultivator go to the buyer or to market with his produce, or does the buyer come to him? Does the sale take place by sample?

10. Give the market price of each class of produce for as many years back as you can.

11. Is marriage among the agricultural classes a matter of course at any customary age, or is it governed by any consideration of the means of living?

12. Do the ryots' children receive any education? If so, at what age are they taken from school to be employed upon the land?

Inquiries regarding the Artizan classes of Calcutta.

1. What is the nature of your business?

2. What is the number of native artizans in your employ? and how is their labour distributed?

3. Do they work on your premises or at their homes?

4. Distribute them as far as possible according to caste, age, sex, and place of birth?

5. What proportion of them live in Calcutta and in the Suburbs? Do their families reside with them?

6. Have any of them been attracted to Calcutta from agricultural pursuits by the prospect of higher wages?

7. How were they trained to their occupation? Have they received it from their fathers, or is any system of apprenticeship in use amongst them?

8. What proportion are able to read and write?

9. Can you give any information as to their habits? Are they intemperate or otherwise?

10. What wages do they earn? State the maximum and minimum given by you?

11. Are wages higher than they were ten years ago, and to what extent?

12. Do all your workmen receive monthly wages, or are any of them paid by the job?

13. Are you in the habit of making advances?

14. Do the Native artizans work through Sirdars?

15. Do any of them save money out of their earnings? Would the institution of Savings Banks be likely to foster a spirit of prudential economy?

16. Are they in the habit of working at home on their own account? And do they employ others under them?

17. Do they belong to any societies, benefit, or trade, or are they limited or practically controlled by caste?

18 Is the supply of labour in your branch of trade increasing or diminishing? and what is the cause?

19. Is your work performed by hand labour or by machinery? Where machinery is in use; are the results satisfactory?

20. Do you use principally European or Native tools? Do the workmen find their own tools?

21. How does the work of Native artizans bear comparison with that of Europeans, as to skill and as to speed of execution?

BENGAL SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

ADDRESS

BY THE

HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE PHEAR,

PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

[Delivered on the 29th January 1868.]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

So short a period of time has elapsed since I last had the honour of addressing the members of this Association from this chair, that no considerable amount of material has meanwhile accumulated to call for report or summarizing at the hands of the President. What I have to say on this head would of itself occupy a very small portion of the time allotted to the Address of this evening, and, therefore, I venture to think that I may usefully open the proceedings of this meeting by attempting to complete the survey, upon which I entered last July, of the extensive field of labour lying open to the working promoters of Social Science in this country. On that occasion, I omitted to touch upon the subjects comprised within our fourth and last section, *Economy and Trade*, and I propose now to call your attention to some of the more salient topics of consideration, which appear to me to arise from them.

It will occur at once to most of you that many of the matters with which this section deals, fall under the general designation of Political Economy; and you may, not unnaturally, feel unwilling to spend an hour in listening to any exposition from me of so well-worn a subject as this is. But our words *Economy and Trade*, while embracing, as they undoubtedly do, all that Political Economy represents, extend much beyond it, and give us warrant for entering precincts within which the political economist

would be entirely out of place. But even upon the area usually covered by political economy itself, it may not be uninteresting to you to be reminded how much there is in this country, to which the principles of political economy as a science are necessarily inapplicable, simply because the assumptions of fact, upon which the truth of those principles depends, cannot here be made. If, therefore, I should trespass upon your patience by dwelling upon some matters which in Europe are disposed of by a few of the elementary propositions of that science, I hope you will find excuse for me in my desire to exhibit some of the reasons why, as I conceive, calculations, made in strict conformity with its rules, must, in a community subject to the social conditions which obtain in India, so often lead to incorrect results.

By far the most important part of the *economy* of this country is that which concerns the production and distribution of articles of food, chiefly of grain and pulse. It divides itself naturally into two distinct branches of industry, namely, the cultivation of the soil, and the conveyance of the produce to the consumer. I will ask you to consider for a few moments the peculiar circumstances under which the former is carried on in India. Of course we all know that not only is labour required for the cultivation of the soil, as for all other reproductive processes, but also some capital is necessary for it. The labourer must have the means of living while he is preparing for the future crop; he wants a roof to cover him, clothes, implements, draught-cattle, and from time to time, at any rate, he needs manure for the soil. All these things are capable of being represented by a money value, because they can be obtained in exchange for money, and therefore when capital is spoken of in the aggregate, it is convenient and usual to mention its money equivalent only. I need hardly remark that although no process of reproduction can be carried on with absolutely no capital at all, still most of them admit of various degrees of successful activity with the application of different amounts of capital ranging from deficiency to waste. This is eminently the case with agriculture. And it is evidently of prominent interest to the public that the cultivator of the soil should have available for his use at least as much capital as is needed for the maximum of production in the year. Let us see what means he has in Bengal of procuring this amount, or, rather, let us enquire in what way the capital which is employed by him reaches his hands. My residence in

this country has not been long enough, nor have my opportunities of observation been sufficiently numerous, to enable me to speak on this topic otherwise than with great diffidence as to the correctness of my conclusions. Still such as these are, I am bound to be guided by them in asking you to follow me in pursuit of some infirmities, which seem to have made themselves apparent to me in your agricultural economy.

From the best information which I can glean, the whole of the grain and pulse cultivation in this Presidency is effected by *ryots*, whose holdings range in extent from five to thirty beegahs of land. Probably the average quantity of land held by each ryot is about 9 or 10 beegahs, say 3 or 5 English acres. For this he pays rent to a landlord who may or may not be the zemindar responsible to Government for the revenue. I may presently make one or two observations as to the state of relations between the ryot and his landlord. For the present I will confine myself to saying that those relations seem to me devoid of any personal element. The landlord is simply a rent-charger, whom the ryot scarcely knows, and from whom he has nothing to expect in the way of sympathy, advice, or of assistance; the most that he can generally look for is, that in times of great distress he may obtain from him some relaxation in the payment of his *kists*. Any improvement which is to be done to the land, or any security to be raised against flood or storm, must be at the ryot's own expense, and all losses fall upon his shoulders, so that, as regards risks of all kinds, he is in the position of absolute owner of the land, under the obligation to pay an annual quit rent, but without the material advantages of real ownership. Placed in this situation, he is, it must be remembered, though naturally intelligent, still a supremely ignorant man, possessing no education whatever beyond that which is involved in his having been brought up in the open field to the business of his forefathers. And it must be added that except in rare instances, so far, at any rate, as regards Western Bengal, he either has no capital at all, or what he has is very insufficient for the working of his little plot. In view of these facts alone, an Englishman would be greatly at a loss to imagine how cultivation of the soil could be maintained with any sort of method or permanency. In truth, it is only by the introduction of an element which is, I believe, essentially peculiar to India, that the difficulty is got over. The ryot obtains what capital he wants from the *mahajun*. The usual course of dealing between these two persons, as I understand it,

may be described, for Lower Bengal, pretty accurately as follows:— The *mahajun* provides the ryot with seed for sowing, which is to be returned to him in kind at the harvest with a surplus of 50 per cent. in quantity by way of interest, irrespective of time. He also advances money for the payment of the landlord's rent, for purchase of new implements and repairs of old, as well as for other exigencies; and this is to be repaid him with interest at the rate of about two per cent. per mensem, either in the shape of an equivalent of paddy, reckoning at bazar prices, or in money, at the option of the lender. And, finally, if, as generally happens, the ryot should fall short of paddy for the subsistence of his family before the coming in of the new crops, the *mahajun* furnishes him with so much as he needs for this purpose, on the same terms as if it were borrowed for seed. As security for the due discharge, by the ryot, of his indebtedness, thus incurred both in money and grain, the *mahajun* takes an hypothecation of his debtor's future crop, and eventually places a bailiff at the threshing floor to insist upon his lien. In this way the whole of the principal crop of the year usually passes, in the first instance, into the hands of the *mahajun*, and the ryot himself only gets what is left after his creditor has satisfied his own claims. This margin is seldom considerable, and may sometimes be nothing. And I think I may venture to assert without risk of material error, that the amount of produce which thus falls to the share of the cultivator, together with the cold weather crops, very rarely suffices to maintain him and his family for the whole of the year. Consequently the round of borrowing commences again, and so year by year renews itself under a necessity from which the unfortunate debtor can scarcely ever hope to escape.

If the representation, which I have just endeavoured to give, is fairly faithful to the actual facts, we have before us a reproduction of the English agricultural triad, namely, the *labourer*, the *capitalist*, and the *rent-owner*, each essentially separate from the other, for the cases in which the ryot unites the character of capitalist to that of labourer are so few that they may be disregarded in a general view. It is obvious, however, that the mutual relations between the *ryot*, the *mahajun*, and the *zemindar* respectively, as I have described them, are very different from those which obtain between the *labourer*, the *tenant farmer*, and the *landlord*, in England. And I think it is also pretty clear in reference to the division of the produce of the soil between these persons, that the rules which are found to

regulate the proportions between the labourer's wages, capitalist's profit, and landlord's rent in the more advanced countries of the west, have as yet very little applicability in India. For instance, the celebrated Ricardo theory of farming rents is founded upon the hypothesis that the farmer brings a capital for investment, and that he will not be satisfied with a less profit in agriculture than the same capital would bring him, if employed in another direction. Now, if the ryot be the real rent-payer, he is certainly guided by no such considerations as this, for he has no capital to carry elsewhere, if he would. And if the *mahajun,* by reason of being the source from which the ryot draws his means of paying his landlord, exercises any control over the rate of rent, I apprehend that it is too indirect to cause such a result as could be made the subject of separate discrimination. There is no obligation, contractual or otherwise, as between him and the landlord, and whenever he pays the rent, he does so, not in pursuance of a previous undertaking, but merely because he sees that it is worth his while, having regard to his civil remedies against the ryot and his crops, to lend the tenant so much money. Moreover, even if it were accordant with fact that the *mahajun* had a direct hand in the arrangement of the rent to be paid by the ryot, I doubt very much whether, in the present social condition of this country, anything like a competition of capital would make itself apparent in the matter. *Mahajuns* are in a great degree local monopolists. Each one planted in the midst of a group of mud huts has his own set of clients, bound to him by a tie of indebtedness, such as renders it almost impossible that they should transfer themselves from his books to those of any rival who might be supposed to offer them better terms. The business passes down from father to son, and, in some of its features, recalls to the mind the idea of the small petifogging attorney and money-lender, who still holds sway in out-of-the-way European townships. But I suspect that its profits have not yet come to be governed by the influence of the subtle law of competition.

While thus alluding to the general character of a village *mahajun's* business, it may not perhaps be out of place for me to remark that during the late Orissa famine, the executive officers of Government curiously allowed themselves at one time to be misled by a mistaken deduction from the apparent behaviour of the *mahajuns.* When ryots were dying by hundreds from sheer want of food, it was still believed that there were large

quantities of rice shut up in the *mahajun's golahs,* and that only a higher price was needed to bring these into the markets. The event demonstrated that this was a grievous error, and I cannot help thinking that it was an error which never ought to have been committed. It seems to me that it was against all reasonable probability that the *mahajuns* should, as a body, look quietly on, while starvation and ruin were rapidly destroying the very elements of their own trade, without making an effort to arrest their progress. Surely it would have been more just and more consonant with experience to have expected that the *mahajun* would, at least, never permit his clients actually to die before his eyes, as long as there was a mouthful of paddy in his *golahs,* and, therefore, to have recognized in the daily increasing death-rate the surest possible sign that all grain had disappeared from the village centres.

To return to the subject of rent.—If its rate be not in any material degree dependent upon a competition of capital through the channel either of the ryot or the *mahajun,* there remain three other modes in which it may be adjusted, namely, personal competition between the ryots uninfluenced by consideration of returns for capital, custom, and the award of a third party, as, for instance, of a Court of Justice, invoked by either landlord or tenant for the purpose. I am disposed to think that the first of these is but little exhibited in practice. The general habits of the country are in a great degree unfavorable to it. Where the ryot is, there he remains as a rule; he seldom thinks of moving merely to better himself, and if he leaves his plot, it is generally because he has been completely sold up and deserted by his *mahajun;* and as the landlord, if he only gets his money, is just as careless who is on the land as the tenant is disinclined to go from it, it comes about, even in these days of landlords' power and English notions, that the ryot has, practically speaking, a permanent tenure, so long as he chooses to pay the ordinary rents of the neighbourhood. In the main, these rents are, I apprehend, solely referable to custom. But the third method of regulating the rent to be paid by the occupier, to which I have just alluded, is largely had recourse to by landlords of a certain class, namely, purchasers at execution sales, and will probably in time work results of much moment to the agricultural community. No doubt, as long as the cultivating tenants in a country are not removed beyond the condition of peasantry, the only system upon which the rents

to be paid by them can be satisfactorily settled is one which recognizes a right of occupation in the cultivator, and at the same time either takes custom as the controller of the rate of rent, or submits the arrangement to the arbitration of a Court of Justice, provided that in the latter case the proceedings be simple and inexpensive, and the principles of law prescribed to govern the decision be distinct, equitable, and of easy application. It would seem, therefore, that the agricultural rents of this country are, speaking generally, as a matter of practice, the offspring of just such a system as is best adapted to the condition of the people. Whether the action of the courts is exactly what is to be desired, I will not now stay to inquire, though the topic affords a tempting opportunity for discussion. It is enough for my present purpose to say that agricultural rents throughout the country, however arrived at, do not appear to be as yet higher than what might be easily paid by a solvent thriving cultivator.

We have then the cultivation of the soil conducted by a class of labouring occupiers, on terms of tenure which are practically permanent and independent, and at rents which are reasonable. Is the state of agriculture under these circumstances good, or is the social condition of the people engaged in its pursuit prosperous? The answer to both questions must, I think, be an emphatic negative. I believe that the amount of produce now raised on all lands which are not periodically fertilized by natural agencies, is less than was formerly the case. And, certainly, anything so deplorable as the poverty-stricken life of the average ryot in Western Bengal, I have never witnessed in the poorest districts of England, Ireland, or France. His days are passed in careless, unintellectual, though, no doubt, not severe labour; he is ignorant and superstitious beyond any degree of comparison; his dwelling is a mud-plastered hut, bare of everything that can be denominated furniture; a charpoy, a couple, perhaps, of pitarahs, a gumlah or two, some lotahs, one or two platters, and the universal chillum, constitute the whole of his household goods. Nothing ever meets his eye, fitted to excite a sense of intellectual pleasure; and the finer feelings and faculties with which nature has endowed him in common with the rest of mankind lie torpid, except so far as they exhibit themselves irrepressibly in the rude proverbs and traditions of an uncultured people. Verily, it makes one's heart ache to reflect that multitudes of fellow-creatures are doomed hopelessly to an existence so little removed from brute life as this is! And the picture

suggests to my mind a grave doubt, whether the exactions made by despotic powers in periods of irregular government can be worse in effect upon the condition of the tiller of the soil, than is the operation of a vicious social arrangement, backed by the resistless force of regularly maintained municipal law. So long as the cultivator sees all the produce of the soil, beyond what is sufficient for a bare subsistence, swept out of his reach, it must be matter of small difference to him who is the agent of removal. I can even understand that he should prefer to take the chances of escape afforded by arbitrary and capricious spoliation, with intervals of repose, to the ceaseless and inevitable action of a public or private creditor, armed with legal powers. If there is weight in this consideration, it may serve to show why a strong government, confessedly preserving order, and administering equal laws, may fail to command that sympathy and affection which would seem to be its natural due.

Gentlemen, zemindars resident in this city, I have taken you thus in detail, much I am afraid at the expense of your patience, through what I conceive to be the circumstances surrounding the agricultural industry of your country, in order to impress upon you how much there is in them, as I see them, which deserves your earnest consideration as members of this Association. You cannot, I am sure, be content with the condition of your ryots or with your own relations towards them. You cannot believe that the interests of the public are rightly served, when the production of the great food staples rests with so ignorant and destitute a class as are the cultivators of your soil. And the source of the mischief is easy of detection. Can you do nothing towards its removal? The actual person by whom the cultivation of the soil is effected, and who bears the risks of ownership, is a mere ignorant labourer. The capital absolutely necessary to maintain some sort of tillage and no more, is doled out to him by one who is a stranger, who has no hand in the mode of its employment, but who, nevertheless, is in a position to demand and to sweep away in return for it all the produce of the land which does not go to the landlord, or is not needed for the bare subsistence of the ryot and his family. Is it possible that agriculture should improve, or the cultivator should raise himself in the scale of humanity, when the daily struggle is carried on upon these terms? May it not be generally affirmed with truth, that no branch of industry can flourish, which is wholly or mainly dependent upon capital borrowed from a stranger, and where, in consequence, the claims of the creditor are

overwhelmingly superior to the interests of the actual managers? At any rate, in a community which is familiar with Indigo concerns, an apparently apt illustration of this position is not far to seek. But, gentlemen, if you recognize the viciousness of the existing system, you can hardly fail to see the nature of the responsibility in regard to it, which especially rests upon yourselves. And you cannot rid yourselves of it by seeking shelter under the inexorable doctrines of political economy, for they have no place here. The irresistible force of competition, whether of labour or capital, is, practically speaking, out of the problem, and all that remains is amenable to control. It is now an accepted maxim that property in land has its duties as well as its rights, and the welfare of the ryot in particular is a trust which you cannot neglect, without disregard of the written law which guarantees your peculiar interest in the soil of this country. It is, however, as a material element affecting the well-being of the whole community, and which, therefore, concerns us all alike, that I press the subject on your notice, and I do so earnestly, because with you lies the power of affording some remedy. To this end, the ryot must be enlightened. He needs capital to be furnished him on reasonable terms, or laid out for him with intelligence and skill; and he ought to have the opportunity given him of appropriating to himself habitually something more of the produce of the soil than is just sufficient to meet his physical necessities. Education, fairly long leases at fixed rents, and the substitution of the landlord for the *mahajun*, would be so many strokes at the root of the evil. The power to effect them seems to be in your hands. I know that the exercise of it is to a considerable extent trammelled, and I have elsewhere remarked on the immense hindrance which exists to the access of capital from the land-owner to the soil, in consequence of your complicated system of tenures and sub-tenures to possibly the ninth or tenth degree, and to the extravagant form of coparceny, family and foreign, in which these tenures are held. But this double complication is, after all, only the work of custom; it is capable of being reduced, if the will for the purpose generally prevailed. It needs but a healthy public opinion, which it is the especial duty of this Association to attempt to create; it needs but a wide-spread feeling on the part of landed proprietors that each ought to be his own master, in order to cause these entanglements to resolve themselves into their separate threads, and ultimately to place the practical ownership of land in the hands of individuals, free and willing to do their duty to themselves and the public. If, however,

you do not exhibit any tendency to approach the solution of the question in this way, if you are content to remain landlords in name, but in reality incumbrancers of the worst kind, inasmuch as you have the power of raising your claims, then you may be sure that the time will come, when it will be matter to consider whether the public interests do not require that some means of commutation should be devised, by which, at least, you should be deprived of that semblance of a landlord's character which you wear, and should be converted into simple rent-chargers. If you will, or can, do nothing towards fitting yourselves to perform a landlord's duties, you surely cannot complain if you should be eventually shut off from exercising a landlord's power. I do not think it easy to over-estimate the social and economical importance of this side of the question. Let us suppose for a moment the case of a landed property, belonging to *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, and *E*, in undivided shares; *A* and *B*, say, being brothers, owning two annas each; *C*, a cousin, owning one anna and a half; *D*, a widow of another cousin, having a Hindoo widow's life interest in two and a half; and *E* a stranger, who has purchased at an auction-sale some other member of the family's eight annas share. This illustration, in which, of course, the figures are assumed arbitrarily, you will, I think, admit is typical of the condition of a large portion of the landed property of this Presidency. Now each one of these co-sharers has the power to enhance the rent of the land separately by a suit, the result of which will not be binding between the tenants and the other co-sharers: and in practice it constantly happens that the unfortunate cultivators are in this way grievously harassed and exhausted. In fact, each undivided shareholder of this kind, as a rule, collects his own aliquot part of the rent from every ryot, and considers himself as a sole proprietor, unconnected with the other sharers. It is obvious that all thought of the land, and any duty towards it, must be foreign to him. Of course, he does not of himself put capital into the land, and how small is the chance that *all* the sharers will unite for that purpose! In truth, it is impossible that the functions of a landlord should be discharged by a co-partnership of this nature; and as soon as it should be ascertained that the state of things, illustrated by this example, is likely, by reason of the habits and customs of the proprietary classes, to remain the rule, and not constitute the exception, would it not then become a grave question whether the public good would not require the interference of the supreme power of the community in some such way as that which I have indicated? But this is not the only

mode in which the landlord's proper activity is fettered, for it must be remembered besides, that the privity between the occupier of the land and the owner of the rent which he pays, is liable to constant disturbance by the various causes which lead to the compulsory sale of a tenure or proprietary right. And it is not unworthy of remark that the traffic in judicial decrees, which is permitted in this country, lies at the root of much of the mischief which is apparent in this quarter. And, finally, the free action of the person, even supposing him to be a sole owner, who receives the rent immediately from the cultivator, is embarrassed by the power, which any one of the owners in the chain above him possesses, of sending down a wave of enhancement upon his shoulders.

Unless, then, I have most gravely mistaken the facts, I am, I think, justified in asking you to reflect seriously on the circumstances of all kinds, which attach upon agricultural industry in your country, and to press upon you the inquiry, whether the cultivation of the soil and the possession of proprietary rights therein stand upon that footing which can alone support social progress and wealth.

That branch of industrial activity which is engaged in distributing the produce of the soil, connects agriculture with trade and commerce, and naturally allies itself closely with the latter. Nevertheless, in Bengal, at any rate, it is so special, and exhibits such peculiar features, as to afford large scope for investigation which could hardly fail to prove interesting, but which I cannot now attempt even to outline. I will, however, venture to say that I should be surprised if an honest inquirer did not arrive at the conclusion that the system which exists is injurious to the interests both of the ryot-producer, and of the consumer. The middlemen between these two are extremely numerous, and absorb, in the shape of remuneration, an amount of profit which seems to be out of all proportion to the necessary work of collection and distribution. Custom, rather than convenience, apparently maintains the cumbrous succession of agencies, which now conduct the grain from the threshing floor to the cooking pot, and, apart from any question as to roads and means of conveyance, to which I have elsewhere alluded, I think it probable that emancipation from the thraldom of *dustoor* would lead not only to a reduction of prices to the consumer, but also to the rise of a freer trade, and a readier equalization of supply with local demand than now obtains. I cannot at present stay to do

more than indicate this subject to you as one in which the diffusion of true information with regard to it is eminently calculated to bring about the improvement required, and on that ground to recommend it to you as worthy of the earnest thought and attention of all who desire to see their country advance in prosperity and civilization.

The inquirer into this subject will scarcely get beyond the surface, before he will find himself face to face with that gigantic system of *dallalism* which pervades all India, and the ramifications of which reach the smallest trader and invade the most insignificant occupation. It seems hardly an exaggeration to say that the most trifling transactions of life are effected through a paid agent. A shop-keeper pays a *dallal* to purchase an article for him from his shop-keeper neighbour, and it is impossible to predict how many *dallals* may not be engaged, the one acting by the agency of the next in succession, in effecting a sale of piece goods by a merchant to the retailer, who lives in the next street! At first sight it certainly seems that the prevalence of this system extends far beyond any limits which the principle of convenient division of labour would prescribe to its operation; and it is difficult to suggest any reason why it should so flourish in the face of the manifest disadvantages which attend upon it, such as the general inferiority of action by deputy to direct action, the addition of the agent's commission to the cost of the article dealt for, the uncertainty and consequent risk of litigation liable to be caused by vicarious contracting, and so on. I invite the members of the Association to make *dallalism* a matter of study, to seek out the elements of its special vitality in this country, and to ascertain as far as possible its proper bearing on the social economy of the people.

Another element in your society which strikes a foreigner as peculiar, and which must be pregnant with either much good or much ill, is the almost universal practice of lending and borrowing money among the members of the poorer classes. No sooner does a chuprassee, whose wages may be 5 or 7 rupees a month, get a couple of disposable rupees into his *kamarband*, than he lends them to some one else at a very high rate of interest per diem. If the aggregate of the money so lent is mainly, or even largely, employed immediately in useful processes of reproduction, this state of things almost represents the ideal perfection of political philosophers. If, however, on the other hand, it only goes to meet liabilities which should be discharged out of current income, the whole affords a measure of chronic indebtedness and

pressure, which cannot be other than a social infirmity of the gravest kind. Whichever alternative the more nearly accords with the actual facts, it is still satisfactory to observe that the mere existence of the practice itself indicates a very wide-spread operation of personal credit; and the good faith which must be the foundation of this ought to be potent in the promotion of national prosperity. Might not this well-founded mutual confidence be turned to better account in the form of combined action than when left to work its results thus singly? It is for example the very corner stone of all Benefit Associations, and there seems to be at least as much to be expected from co-operative societies of these kinds in this country as in Europe. One civilizing ingredient is at present utterly unknown among the lowest classes of your community, namely, a durable *pucca* house owned by the occupant. Why should not this be gradually introduced through the agency of building societies, in which the investing members and borrowing members mutually assist each other. I do not think it easy to over-estimate the moral effect worked in a man's character simply by the abiding sense of being owner of the roof which covers him, and the opportunity which a permanent structure affords for the introduction of articles contributing to comfort, or appealing to the finer feelings of taste, is of no insignificant value as an ultimate means of education. But seen from another point of view, the suggestion may carry more favour in your eyes. There can be no doubt that the conversion of the fragile huts, in which the masses of the population are born, live, and die, into substantial, well-built dwellings, would be an enormous public gain. The losses both of life and property which are periodically caused by the violence of the elements in this tropical country, solely as a consequence of the frail character of the *bustees*, are very serious, and the demoralization which always results from these disasters, produces a considerable retarding effect upon the civilization of the people. Those of you who are landlords have it very much in your power even now to exercise some control in the matter, and you ought to be glad to facilitate, as far as you can, any efforts which might be made by your tenants to help themselves. I hope, therefore, that the example which has, I believe, been set by an energetic European gentleman in the founding of a Benefit Building Society for the more English classes of this city, may be well considered, and, if possible, followed by those who desire to foster and develope a spirit of energy and self-reliance in the poor and ignorant portions of the native

community. I have already spoken of your concern with the condition of the native *bustees* in regard to sanitary consideration only. What I now insist upon is a pure matter of social *economy*. I might press upon you to the same end by arguments drawn from the side of sentiment and morality. So that, upon every ground of reason and right feeling, these places, in their present state, seem to me to be discreditable to the civilization of the Presidency, and productive of positive loss to the country. If on thought you arrive at the same conclusion, will you not bestir yourselves to wipe away the blot?

The taxation of a country is an element in its economy of which every one understands the importance, although, probably, very few persons really know anything of the principles by which, having regard to the welfare of society, it ought to be adjusted. It is beyond dispute that in a country which is not absolutely barbarous, public interest requires that very much should be done and regulated by an executive government at the public expense. And I suppose it would also be universally agreed that the funds necessary for this purpose should be raised by contribution from all members of society, in proportion to their respective abilities. Difference of opinion generally first exhibits itself, when it is sought to ascertain a proper measure of ability to contribute. Perhaps it is impossible to define any such measure in the abstract. The more practicable mode of approaching the question is to take it in detail, and to inquire for any specified tax, what persons it will ultimately fall upon, and how those persons would be affected by its incidence. Even an inquiry of this kind is by no means simple, for it generally happens that the person taxed is not the person by whom the burden is borne, and the burden itself is not necessarily represented with accuracy by the figures of the amount which is paid. It may be a much greater inconvenience to the possessor of an income of Rs. 100 a month to give up a tenth part of it to the tax-gatherer, than it is to the recipient of Rs. 5,000 a month to pay his Rs. 500. Again, a tax upon an article of consumption might actually have the effect of taking a larger sum of money out of the pocket of one in the poorer classes of society, than from more wealthy persons; yet it is from a consideration of the effect of a tax in these respects that a just conclusion as to its equality or inequality is to be reached. But equality of taxation is by no means the only thing to be regarded in the adjustment of a system of taxes; supposing that end to be assured, still the impost may be of such a character,

in regard to assessment and levying, as to cause undesirable restraint upon, or other mischief to, the productive industry of the country; it may stimulate a particular industry at an excessive cost to the consumer and loss to the community at large: the manner of its collection may be extravagantly expensive, or conducive to corruption: and finally its nature may be so distasteful as to cause wide-spread evasion of payment. For reasons of this kind, the equality of a tax may be counterbalanced by the evils which are incidental to it. Now it seems to me that investigation of the qualities of taxes in regard to the different social bearings to which I have alluded, ought to have attraction for some of the Native gentlemen of this country. None so well as they can arrive at the many details of social life which are involved in the inquiry, and they might, with comparative ease, furnish our legislators with a valuable body of statistics on the subject. They might also do much to allay a mischievous impatience of taxation which exists widely among the masses of the people, by making known how very insignificant a portion of the money raised by taxation in India goes to any other purpose than the administration of the country.

Of the specialities discoverable in the trade, internal and external, of India or Bengal, I have now little time to speak. Its free action is, I am disposed to think, greatly fettered by customs, to the detriment of the public; and the conduct of traders, manufacturers, artizans, &c., is influenced so powerfully by other motives than those which proceed only from the consideration of profit and loss, that I apprehend the laws of political economy, relative to prices, profits, and wages, have but very limited application here. The more prominent agencies of trade and of the interchange of commodities, namely, the currency, negotiable instruments, weights and measures, present each of them very peculiar features, and the consequent temptation to dwell upon them is very great. I must, however, resist it, and content myself with asking you not to allow these topics to escape your attention. You might do good service to society by searching out the circumstances which surround the various trades of Bengal, directing particular care to the grain factors of all grades, and giving an exposition of the causes which affect, for good or for ill, their healthy activity. An essay by a competent hand upon the extent to which credit is made use of, so to speak, as a medium of exchange, in the place of, or supplemental to, money, would be of great value. If I mistake not, it would be found on investigation that there is scarcely any such practice

among Native traders and merchants generally, excepting always the celebrated class of shroffs, as the negotiating of instruments of credit. Although the hoondee is indigenous to the East, and no doubt older than the Bill of Exchange, I have been led to believe that outside the world-known class which I have referred to, it is rarely made to perform any higher function than that of a mere money order. It is not used in connection with any other transaction than that which gave it birth, nor does it often save the actual transfer of cash in regard to that, by being made matter of account. The chief, if not sole, economical purpose which it serves among ordinary traders, seems to be its primitive purpose of obviating the necessity of transmitting money from one place to another. Yet, as I have already remarked, personal credit is given in this country with singular readiness, and within the limits of some castes the amount of reliance placed by individual members on each other's good faith approaches to the marvellous. What, then, has hindered the full development of a system of negotiating private paper in aid of a cumbrous currency? And further, it may be asked, why do Government currency notes even now obtain so limited a circulation as is the case? A close and accurate inquiry into the root of these matters, made by Native gentlemen familiar with the manners and habits of the people, could hardly fail to result in information of much importance.

Weights and measures, again, present a subject of consideration, which is not inferior in interest to any connected with the economy of a people. It is easy to see how great is the impediment in the way of free and advantageous exchange of commodities, which must result from the want, on the part of those dealing together, of a common standard of comparison in regard to weight, area, and capacity. Now, the diversity in this respect, which exists throughout India, is something quite startling, although the causes of it no doubt are easily intelligible. It is true that identity in the names of standards prevails throughout very large areas, the chittack, the seer, the maund, the hâth, the guz, and the côss, are to be found in use almost all over India, but this in itself only causes greater confusion: for, inasmuch as the actual standard varies arbitrarily from district to district, the name thus ceases to give any indication of the corresponding magnitude. It is, I think, not difficult to see that variation in the weights and measures from district to district, within any country, is due to the originally more or less complete isolation of the

population of those districts respectively, relative to transactions of exchange; and where the same denominations prevail, the existing differences in magnitude are attributable to a sort of process of degradation, or rather deviation from a common origin, brought about probably by local causes operating without check as long as the district remained a stranger to its neighbour. In all countries which are not inconsiderable in area and population, imperfect civilization, deficiencies in the means of communication, and radical distinctions of race, are causes which at one period or another operate to split up the whole population into small subordinate communities, and thus to bring about such isolation between them as I have just referred to. I think it may be said that diversities in the standards of weights and measures always manifest themselves in accordance with those segregations. If this be so, the only preservative against the growth of distinct standards in provincial districts, and the only cure for the mischief, when once come to a head, is to be found in the gradual unification and increase of free intercourse between the populations. The differences of usage as to weights and measures rapidly disappear under the friction caused by the constantly recurring necessities of interchange. At the same time, of course, the very existence of these differences constitutes a serious obstacle to free exchange. Can then the Government by legislation do any thing to facilitate and hasten the reformation? Something it may do no doubt, but not nearly so much, I imagine, as is generally supposed. It is impossible, I believe, to root out local usage by any enactment and penalty. In spite of all legislation on this head in France and in England, the use of local standards of weights and measures still continues in the provincial districts. For instance, in Suffolk the agricultural population sell their butter by the pint, and grain by the coomb; in Devonshire they sell the first by the pound, and the second by the bag, while it would puzzle any one to reduce with exactness these pairs of denominations to a common unit. What the Government can usefully do, I apprehend, is to publish an authorized imperial standard, according to which all its own dealings will be, as far as possible, effected throughout the country. Persons engaged in wholesale trade between the metropolis and the provincial districts, or between district and district, will only be too glad to adopt it, as far as circumstances will permit, and if it be so chosen that local standards are referable to it without great difficulty, it will in this manner gradually make its way among the local communities.

It is, I think, practically impossible to insist upon the adoption of any legislative standard against the feeling of the people through the means of a penalty. You cannot descend to all the details of village life, and fine the blacksmith, carpenter, butcher, shop-keeper, &c., if they do not make their little petty contracts in terms of the authorized imperial standard; you cannot compel them to use particular instruments of measuring or weighing any more than particular implements of trade; you cannot make the *rajmistree* pay a penalty, because he measures up his work, and charges for it in haths, instead of metres. The Legislature may no doubt enact that in every place open for the public sale of commodities, none other than the authorized weights and measures shall be used, and may succeed by energetic supervision in enforcing such an enactment. But the result of a proceeding of this kind would be enormous oppression and distress, wherever the people were unacquainted and unfamiliar with new standards. It seems to me, therefore, on the whole, that authoritative example and education is the proper mode, rather than compulsory legislation for effecting "an introduction of new standards of weight and measure in British India;" and that the exigencies and convenience of traders between the metropolis and the provinces, should be allowed much influence as a guide to the unit to be dealt with as the primary standard. But this object, involving as it does elements drawn from the daily habits and circumstances of the people, is one that eminently calls for attention on the part of the native gentlemen of this country; and it is from them that we look for a full and practical discussion of it.

There yet remain a multitude of topics within the area of *Economy and Trade*, of which I have not specifically spoken, but I trust that the examples which I have attempted to put before you this evening may have served to depict to you the character of this department of our Association.

Gentlemen, in the two addresses which you have been so good as to listen to from me in this chair, I have endeavoured to explain by a series of successive illustrations what Social Science, as I understand it, means. Human beings in society constitute a very remarkable entity, of which it may be said that it grows, developes, and flourishes, or the reverse. But the vital forces of this organism are referable to the individual members of the body, and the prosperity of the whole is only to be arrived at and measured by ascertaining through a process of analysis the welfare of its constituent atoms. The

physical, moral, and intellectual ingredients of human welfare are the subjects of the so-termed laws which we detect in the creations of the great Artificer of the world, and which are to us the expressions of His will. In a very large degree we, whether acting singly or in combination, have the adjustment of these ingredients in our hands,—a function from which we cannot for a moment free ourselves, and in which we are utterly unable to remain inactive as long as we occupy a place in the social system. Regard for ourselves and for our fellow-mortals ought, therefore, to make us anxious that our action should be for good and not for ill. We ought to be earnest to learn the right and the wrong affecting every social phenomenon. Most of us no doubt cannot pursue an independent inquiry for ourselves; we believe what we are taught by authority, and we act in subjection to public opinion. Hence comes the enormous importance to the welfare of a country that the public opinion within it should be properly instructed; and fortunately in any society, whose condition is that of health and growth, public opinion is sooner or later influenced by the labours of those who earnestly and conscientiously seek out truth wherever it may be found. Social Science is, as I have already said, only another name for that body of truth upon which the interests of men in society, collectively and individually, depend. You may be blind to its existence; you may refuse to believe that there is any such thing as natural law in connection with this matter, but you cannot disregard it with impunity; and rest assured that there never will be a time when the whole truth will be known,—the task of inquiry at an end. The very progress of society itself introduces new facts and new conditions. All increase of information brings fresh truths to light, or serves to throw the old into a more comprehensive form. It will not do for you to say:—"We are satisfied with things as they are. What was good enough for our fathers is good enough for us. We want no change." These are but so many vain and empty words, because change comes in spite of you, and, granting that your forefathers in their day were in possession of all available truth, an assumption, however, which is altogether without warrant, altered circumstances have rendered it incumbent upon you to increase your knowledge. If, for example, in the presence of your modern complicated and subtle system of land tenures, of railways, of telegraphs, and so on, you persist in believing that the precepts to be gathered from Manu and the Puranas are sufficient to ensure the welfare and progress of your community, the magnitude of your mistake is only parallelled by the ignorance

which it indicates. The fact is, that to stand still is impossible. You must then look about you, and face boldly the problems which advancing civilization presents to your notice, bearing with you a hearty desire to arrive at the bottom of the truths which they involve.

There are a great number of gentlemen in this country who have leisure and means for any pursuit they may choose. Your family system has the effect of keeping in idleness a much larger proportion of the members of the well-to-do classes, than are found unoccupied in Europe; and, if I mistake not, these are the gentlemen who so commonly talk loudly of their country's glorious past, and dwell in speculation on her future destinies. I should consider myself fortunate if anything I have said should rouse their patriotism into present action. This Association will aid, and will sympathise with them in every effort they may make to understand social phenomena, and to discover the laws which govern social development. It is to native gentlemen especially that the Association appeals. *Its* work is *their* work in a peculiar manner. To whom are the right adjustment of laws with their administration, the state of education, the conditions of health, and the furtherance of economy and trade in this country matters of concern, unless they are so to those who represent the intelligence of the country itself? I ask you to give your attention to some of the many topics of which I have attempted illustrations. The stimulus of European enterprise and English example has quickened the current of your daily life. Do not consent to hang on as so much useless lumber, weighting the arms of those who labour in earnest, but come forward, each one of you, and take your part in the world's struggle. The harvest must needs be an overflowing one if only labourers can be found for the work. Will you remain satisfied with the pitiful wages of ease, which placid submission to the routine of a Hindu family will yield you, when you might be earning a true man's reward in the sight of God and your fellow-creatures? Let me ask you once more to survey the field which invites your labours. Look again at the complex system of law which governs your social conduct, and you will not lull yourselves into inaction by the present belief that the Vyavasthas of your Pundits and English rule have as yet brought you anywhere near perfection of jurisprudence. Remember the end and aim of all criminal legislation, and say how closely it has been reached in this country. The efforts which have been made of late years for the education of males have met with

deserved success, but even in this department more remains to be done than has yet been accomplished. Do not be carried away by high-sounding names. While the honour of the students in the University of Calcutta is of such an order as permits a trade in stealing examination questions to flourish, never think that a community of designation indicates a community of kind, and that your Academia is near of kin to Oxford or Cambridge! Your present system may impart information as by rote, but how many thinkers does it turn out? How many men come from your lecture halls sobered by their training, and diffident of themselves, but thoroughly determined to enter on a course of serious manly work in the world? And whatever may be your view of the extent of culture received by your men, you yourselves will admit that your women—in numbers one-half of your race, in office the trainers and educators of your children, in capacity all that should be the pattern of intellectual refinement—that your women are of design left in ignorance, and kept as nearly as possible without mental cultivation. Again, do the fine arts even yet find a place among you? Where is ever an attempt made to develope taste and feeling, those gifts which so eminently distinguish man from the rest of the animal world? Can you produce a living painter, sculptor, or musician? How many examples are there throughout this wealthy city of a tasteful, carefully kept, ornamental flower garden? Can you yet boast of the state of refinement at which you have arrived, when you still have not delicacy enough at your meals to interpose some instrument between the hand and the food? And then is not your family system alike obstructive of advance in material prosperity, and injurious in its bearing upon civilization and refinement! The Kartá is the manifestation of a law of primogeniture in a form which is mischievous from its intrinsic weakness. The petty obligation and restraints of caste offer enormous obstacles to the proper development of industry. The laws of health are scarcely thought of among you. Your agriculture and your trade are shackled by customs which seriously interfere as well with the amount of production as with complete and rapid distribution of commodities; and even yet the population look upon taxation as so much extortion by a superior power, which is to be evaded by all available shifts.

Can you reflect upon the matters of this sketch, and not feel that there is in it ample to call for the action of all honest, conscientious men? Your country, rich in every material element

of national welfare, needs only that her sons should play their parts with zeal, energy, and enterprise. Sit, then, no longer theorizing and professing in words your interest in the social questions of the day, but be up and doing. Impress upon yourselves a conviction of the reality of these matters, and then you will be ashamed of treating them any longer as children treat their play things. Think well of the opportunity which is open to you, and of the responsibility which rests on your shoulders. Act, each one of you, under an earnest belief in the seriousness of life, and with the desire to do honestly that little which lies before you. Then will the future of India brighten; the mists of indolence and prejudice will be gradually rolled back; a land, to which there is perhaps no superior on the face of this earth, will laugh with the harvests of plenty, and her people will rejoice in the gladness which strength, prosperity, and intelligence alone can bestow.

JURISPRUDENCE AND LAW.

1.—*The Jury system in Bengal.* *By* Babu Troylucknath Mittra, M.A.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

I shall consider the subject under the following heads:—

I. The mode of recruiting jurors.

II. The conduct of the jurors during the trial.

III. The operation of the system.

IV. Its extension how far desirable.

I. Act XXV of 1861, Chapter XXIII, regulates the procedure by which the jury list is drawn up. The law makes it the duty of the Collector of the district to draw up the jury list; which is to consist of persons who, in the judgment of that Officer, are considered qualified by their "education and character" to serve as jurors. These persons are also to reside within 10 miles from the place where the Court of Session, in which their attendance is required, is held. Such are the conditions prescribed by positive law, subject to which the jury list is to be framed. Practically, however, the essential requisition of education and character is to a great extent disregarded. As a rule, the framing of the jury list is seldom or never superintended by the Collector, much less does he draw it up himself. The Legislature thought that the Collector, as the head of the executive in the district, and therefore bound to know everything relating to it, would be the proper person to furnish a list of persons of education and character resident within it. Unfortunately, however, many of the Collectors know very little of their districts. And it is difficult to determine wherein the fault lies; whether it is the fault of the individual, or of the system by which more duties are heaped upon him than one man is capable of performing. The fact, however, is certain, whatever may be its cause, that we find the Collector delegating his duty of drawing up the jury list to ministerial officers, particularly the nazir. He again delegates the task to one of his subordinates, who goes about the district collecting names. Now people consider it a hardship to be obliged to attend trials in the Courts of Session, and consequently they

endeavour to remove their names from the jury list. An offer of a pecuniary bribe, modestly called a present, is a strong argument with the recruiting officer to omit from the list the name of the person who has so pleasantly obliged him. It happens in this way that most persons of any position in the district have their names abstracted from the list, which now contains the names of shopkeepers and artisans, persons least qualified in the eye of the law to serve as jurors. Thus not unfrequently a jury of low shopkeepers and ignorant peasants is returned, persons totally incapable of understanding the nature and dignity of the functions they are called upon to perform. I know of a case which occurred in Hooghly in which a person was sent away from the jury box whose very appearance impressed the presiding officer with an idea of his low occupation; on enquiry it appeared that he was a blacksmith working at the anvil, and he begged hard of the Judge to be retained in the jury box for that day; possibly he had boasted that morning before his family and neighbours of the dignity to which he was called, of being allowed to sit in a chair in the company of the *burra sahib*, and he returned sorely mortified at being disappointed in his expectations, not knowing what to say to his friends. Such cases are not of unfrequent occurrence, and they go very far to expose to contempt and ridicule the jury system of this country. The presiding officers in the Courts of Session being always Europeans, such cases of incompetent jurors are rarely prevented; the eye of the foreigner is incapable of detecting in the appearance of the person his low occupation; to him all natives dressed in their *dhotee* and *chuddur* appear of equal respectability. If there were natives to assist the presiding officer, such scandalous cases would seldom or never occur.

The cases of disqualification are very exhaustively enumerated in the code. We cannot possibly suggest a single cause of disqualification which is not noticed in the code itself. It seems that the exemptions are not as judiciously drawn up. There is no reason why, when a medical man is exempted, a lawyer should not also be exempted; the same arguments apply to both, and are perhaps more forcible in the case of the lawyer. In the case of the medical man, possibly life is at stake; but in the case of the lawyer, life, liberty, and property, all may be at stake. It is a great injury if the medical man is imperatively called away from his patient, but it is an equal, if not a greater injury, if the lawyer is called away from his client, whom

may be he has to defend in a murder case before the Court of Session. Since the two cases are so analogous, I do not see the wisdom of exempting the one, and leaving the other liable. There is another circumstance of exemption which is not practically so well carried out as the others; I mean the case of priests actually officiating in their several religions. I am not aware that the Collector pays the same regard to the representations of a Hindu priest which he does to those of the priests of other religions. It may probably arise, however, from the difficulty experienced by him in distinguishing between cases of genuine hardship and those which are spurious.

II.—The conduct of the jurors during the trial.

It is the business of the jurors to attend to the examination of witnesses as it proceeds. They have the privilege of putting questions to the witness at the close of his deposition, which will be recorded by the presiding officer if he thinks proper. In most cases, however, there is seldom room left for any important question. After the searching examination at the hands of the cross-examining Counsel, followed by the re-examination and the questions of the Court, the subject-matter of the case is generally exhausted; and the foreman in such cases should be discreet enough not to show his ignorance or forwardness by putting impertinent questions or questions that have been once answered and recorded. It is a mistake however into which people are apt to fall, to think that they have naturally a professional lawyer's skill.

In the majority of cases the foreman seldom or never takes notes of the evidence as the depositions are proceeded with. Such a practice tells injuriously upon the verdict in the case. It is impossible for a man to recollect all the points of the evidence in the course of a trial of ordinary length, evidence which, in some cases, is conflicting, in others corroborative, and where the case turns entirely on nice variations or discrepancies between the depositions of several witnesses. In such cases it is hopeless to expect that a man can carry the whole in his memory; it must be wonderfully retentive, indeed, if it is so capable. To say that the Judge will supply the facts is not quite true. The Judge may forget to mention an important fact, or give his own interpretation of it, which the jury is not bound to receive; in questions of fact, the interpretation of the jury being more autho-

ritative than that of the Judge. To suppose that the Counsel on either side will supply the facts, is again another error. The Counsel will only give such an interpretation of the facts as will suit the particular interests of his own client, and either interpretation may be equally removed from the truth. I believe it to be desirable for the ends of justice that all the jurors, and more especially the foreman, should take notes of the evidence during the course of the trial: in that case they will be able to return a rational and an intelligent verdict without being led away by either Judge or Counsel.

The influence of the Counsel's address to the jury is great; more especially when it is addressed in a language which they well understand. In the districts of Lower Bengal, the great majority of jurors that sit in Sessions trials know only Bengalee, and slightly, if at all, possess a knowledge of English. An address in Bengalee in these Courts, therefore, is much more appreciated than one delivered in English. Hence it is that a native pleader of education and experience is more likely to carry the verdict of not-guilty with him than an English advocate whose ignorance of Bengalee is notorious. This circumstance is pretty well known to the mookhtears and the people in the mofussil, and now-a-days we rarely find English barristers engaged for the defence in Sessions cases triable by jury. The pleader's address constitute the golden words to the jury; it is the more impressive if the pleader is patient and calm in his delivery, which carries persuasion if not conviction, with it; a hot and loquacious conduct is apt to spoil the case. The judge's charge to the jury does not carry great influence with it; because it is to them mostly unintelligible. The ignorance of the Judges of good current Bengalee is well known: and the charge is conveyed in language half Bengalee, half Hindustanee, hybrid expressions at most, which the jurymen do not fully understand. If the individual words are known to them, the mode in which they are severally pronounced puzzles them. To them it seems as if they are hearing a discourse in an unknown tongue. So long, therefore, as the district Judge does not know, and cannot talk, Bengalee intelligibly and well, his charge to the jury will not carry with it that influence which it was intended by the legislature it should have. Such a tendency prejudices justice very considerably. As the expounder of law, and the only person connected with the trial who is not interested in its issue one way or another, he is the only person to guide the jury safe

through the rocks and quicksands of conflicting interpretations of law by the Counsels. To lose, therefore, from his imperfect, and sometimes ridiculous Bengalee, his otherwise enormous influence with the jury, must always be counted as a hindrance to justice.

III.—The operation of the system.

The introduction of the jury system had one great object to attain, *viz.*, to secure justice in individual cases. The former system under which the trial was conducted under the superintendence of one person as presiding officer, who was to pronounce the verdict, was liable to certain defects which the jury system was intended to remedy. In the first place, the presiding officer, may by habit or inclination be unconsciously biassed towards one side or another; and whenever this happens, there will be a failure of justice. Such cases are not often rare; it is a common occurrence that men have their individual peculiarities which influence their judgment, and they are from such circumstances likely to stray from truth. The jury system, however, is free from this danger; one man may have his judgment influenced by inclination or prejudice; but it is impossible to conceive that seven men may be in the same way influenced, and all in that one direction. What was not only possible but probable as well, in the case of one person as Judge, becomes highly improbable, nay almost impossible, in the case of a number of Judges. Prejudice or individual bias, therefore, almost becomes impossible in the case of a number.

Another defect which the jury system is intended to cure is this; one person may err in his judgment regarding a combination of facts, but the chance becomes very small that a number of persons should all err in the very same direction regarding the same set of facts: as men possessing common sense only, the unanimous verdict of a number would carry with it almost a moral certainty that their conclusion is right. Besides, the act of viewing facts alone apart from their legal bearing, carries with it advantages in coming to a correct verdict regarding the state of those facts.

There is another defect to which the former system was particularly exposed in this country, and which the jury system is calculated to remedy. The presiding officers in Courts of Session are invariably Europeans—foreigners who cannot be expected to know the manners and customs, the modes of life, &c.,

of the natives of this country. Consequently such persons are not acquainted with the motives and principles under the impulse of which a native acts, and they are not therefore in a position to do justice to the habits and feelings of the defendants in these courts, who are mostly the natives of this country. From ignorance, therefore, a defendant's case is prejudiced in the hands of such a Judge. The jurors being mostly natives to try native offenders, such miscarriages of justice can seldom occur at their hands. This evil the jury system of this country cures most completely.

On the other hand, there are certain difficulties which prevent the successful operation of the jury system. The main difficulty lies in getting competent men to attend. This will be to a great extent secured by improving the mode of recruiting jurors, and by the Collector using more personal knowledge and a stricter supervision over the enlistment. Moreover, as education is more and more disseminated among the mass of the population, it will be easier to select persons fit for the task than it is now.

It may not be out of place here to consider the question of corruption as affecting the purity of the system. The first question which must be answered, is this:—Does it at all exist? if so, to what extent? Now I believe, for I have facts to guide me, that corruption does exist to some extent to influence the verdict of the jury. I have heard of one or two cases in this district of Hooghly, and they are well authenticated, in which parties came to propose bribes to be given to the jury. In such cases, the parties seldom treat directly with the jurors; they are afraid of adding one offence to another for which they are already under trial. Besides, the jurors themselves, even though corruptly disposed, will seldom take a bribe from the hands of an unpractised rogue who may inadvertently give it an inconvenient publicity and so place their reputation as gentlemen and their personal safety at hazard. For this purpose a mookhtear given to such practices (and such men are known well enough in the district) is generally employed to serve as a go-between: arrangements are made by him with the parties on the one hand and the jurors on the other, and the matter is so quietly and secretly settled, that no whisper is heard abroad touching the transaction. Cases of such corruption are very rare, and many circumstances prevent the jurors from tainting their hands with the filthy lucre, even if so disposed. In the first place the fear of exposure and therefore a liability to punishment deters many from taking

bribes for selling votes. Neither would it suffice to secure one or two jurors by such corrupt meams. It would be necessary that the legal majority should be counted upon for the purpose of a favorable verdict. Parties, when they are satisfied that they will not be able to influence the necessary majority, do not try this mode at all, as whatever money may be given to one or two jurors, would most probably be money thrown away. Thus temptations are to some extent taken away from the path of these corrupt jurors. Again, where a number of persons are to be bribed, it is difficult to manage it with secrecy enough to prevent the least publicity; the number must be very few to arrange such black transactions with dexterity between them. This circumstance prevents parties in many cases from making the necessary overtures and the jurors from accepting them. Moral elevation again prevents many from selling votes by corrupt compacts. Circumstances like these make instances of corruption more and more rare, and help to introduce purity into the system of trial by jury in this country.

IV.—The extension of the system how far desirable.

The jury system was originally experimental, and I believe its operation in the most advanced districts of Bengal for half a dozen years, has given the system a fair trial by which to judge of its adaptation to the state of society in which it was broached. From recognised statistics it has been found that the operation of the system has been generally successful, instances in which there was a failure of justice being comparatively rare. It does not however therefore follow that, because the system has been successful in certain districts therefore its extension to others would be a desirable object. The success of the system depends upon the intellectual progress of the district where it is introduced. Unless people receive a general education, sharpening and developing their intellects, they are not competent to serve as jurors. Now it is a recognised fact that there is a great difference of intellectual progress in different parts of Bengal. Take for instance the district of Dinagepore and a district in South Bengal, say Nuddea or Hooghly, and intellectual progress will be found to be greatly at a discount in the former. It was therefore a very wise provision of the legislature by which the extension of the jury system in the several districts was left to the discretion of the executive government of the place, that being the proper authority by whom the progress of the district can

be correctly ascertained. The success of the system depends upon the intellectual advancement of the community, and the intellectual advancement of the community is attained by the education of the mass, understanding those expressions in their proper sense. The education of the mass therefore is a preliminary step; and the government of the community would perform two duties by promoting such education; a duty substantive, for it is no other, and a duty adjective, for it will tend to the success of the jury system and therefore lead to the impartial administration of justice. The extension of the system to other districts than those in which it is at present in operation is a question for the executive government to determine, according to the intellectual advancement and general education of the particular district.

Another point I should also here notice with reference to the success of the system. There is an impression very common among the people generally that they are not competent to pass an opinion in cases involving life and death, and that therefore they incur a responsibility, moral as well as social, in giving their verdict in those cases where they feel themselves incompetent. This erroneous impression is the source of an inveterate reluctance on the part of many to serve as jurors. People otherwise well-intentioned are deterred from the performance of the duty by this imaginary incompetency. It is very necessary to combat this wrong and therefore pernicious impression, and to try to remove it from the minds of many useful members of society. It is a great mistake to think that to try a case as juror, a person must be conversant with the intricacies and nice details of law. Common sense, regulated by a general education, is all that the juryman requires to perform his duty. Facts are repeated before him, all evidence gone through *de novo* in his presence; he has the opportunity of observing the demeanour of the witnesses in the course of their depositions; the address of the counsel and the charge of the presiding officer place before him the facts in the clearest light, and the law applicable to the case is expounded by the bench as completely and as correctly as it becomes necessary for the juror to understand it. Then the juror has to find upon the facts. With so many advantages and such simplicity in the proceedings before him, surely it is a grievous error to suppose, that any man with any ordinary amount of common sense will not be able to come to a correct conclusion regarding the facts laid before him. It cannot be ex-

pected that the juror is able to do abstract and absolute justice in every case. If he finds according to the facts as laid before him, and according to his own conviction as founded upon them, he does all that can be required of him; he redeems the oath which he has tacitly taken, he incurs no moral responsibility, and makes himself obnoxious to no moral obligation. It is therefore a thoroughly erroneous impression to think that a peculiar training or a certain aptitude is necessary to perform the duties of a juror.

There are many people again who, not labouring under this misconception, are yet unwilling to serve as jurors, and therefore try to avoid being enrolled in the jury list as much as possible. They say they are obliged to attend the Courts of Session for days together to the detriment of their proper avocations, thereby incurring pecuniary loss and personal inconvenience, in some cases amounting to positive trouble. They get nothing in return to compensate for all this sacrifice; hence they try to avoid serving on the jury list as much as possible. Now the law of this country considers the services of a juror as a duty which every member of society is bound to perform; and which therefore society has a right to claim from every one of its members. It is a duty, and therefore the juror is not entitled to thanks for performing it—or to remuneration for undergoing the attendant trouble and inconvenience. No man claims any return for supporting his infant children, or thanks for undergoing labour and toil on their account, and yet nevertheless every man supports them, because it is a duty, and not a task induced by the promise of a remuneration. This is the view which the law of this country takes of the question. It is taken from a very high stand-point of social morality, and in principle probably it is correct. The jurisprudence of England however views the question in another light. It is considered there in the light of a service, to perform which a man must be paid. The advocates of the English practice argue that by analogical reasoning a juror should be paid for his services. It is a service which he does to the ends of justice and therefore a service to society; and since society derives benefit from the service, it must pay for it before it can use it. If society were not to pay for it, it would be guilty of a fraud on the individual juror; just as a private member of society would be guilty of a fraud on another, if he were to take a thing from the latter and not pay for it. This argument, however, is fallacious;

when a person renders a service to society, to whom is the service practically rendered? To society, it will be answered. Now what is society, or who constitutes society? The individual members of society constitute society; the term society being a name for an assemblage of individuals having rights and duties available against each other, originating from the fact of their integration; a service therefore to society is a service rendered to individual members of society and therefore ultimately to the individual member himself who renders it. A service therefore to society, ultimately analysed, resolves itself into a service to one's self; and it is absurd to expect remuneration for a service done to one's self, just as it is to expect fees for having made a surgical operation on one's own limbs. The fiction of a service to society resolves itself into a service to one's self; and therefore entitles a person to no remuneration for it.

Again it is urged in favor of the English practice that Judges are paid for administering justice, and why should not jurors be paid who have like services to render? The difference between the two cases is great. In the case of the juror the sacrifice is small, and therefore consistent with the well-being of the person himself and that of society of which he is a member. It is a sacrifice which every one can easily afford to make, it is a sacrifice which every one ought to make, if for nothing else, at least on the principle of reciprocity. Whereas, in the case of the Judge, if he is to serve unremunerated, he will be subjected to a great sacrifice; he requires money to support himself and those whom he is bound to support; and if he is to serve *gratis*, his other duties, equally important, would remain unperformed. People therefore would not be found to take up the duties of a Judge; and compulsory nomination would be hardship to those so nominated, and injustice to those who would be tried by them, because people forced into the service will want heart to perform the duties. Besides the high training and legal culture necessary for a competent Judge requires that Judges should be paid. If the duties of a Judge could be performed by all men, then there would be no necessity for a highly paid service. The functions could have been performed by rotation in the same way as those of the jury are performed. A man devotes his time, energy, and wealth, and obtains the special training of a lawyer; that he should be remunerated for it, is natural and reasonable; where otherwise would be the recompense for all this loss of time, energy and wealth? It is for this loss that he is remunerated,

and that the rest of the members of society agree to pay him. The case of a juror is otherwise. No special training is necessary for him. He did not incur any loss of time, energy, or wealth, to acquire this aptitude. Hence he cannot claim remuneration from the rest of society. The Judge performs his own portion of the duty and performs also the portion of others, who are incompetent to perform it themselves; for that portion of it the Judge must be paid by those for whom it is rendered and who are incompetent to perform it themselves. What they want in talent, they must pay in money. In the case of the juror it is not so: every man is competent to serve as a juror, then why should he pay another to do that for him which he himself is capable of performing? This explains the otherwise apparent anomaly of a Judge being paid for his services, while a juror is not paid for rendering the same kind of service. This is true in all walks of life; a soldier fights for his country and he is paid for it. He is paid because he does the portion of the duty of others who cannot fight and who therefore must pay for what they cannot themselves perform. It seems therefore that on this point, the jurisprudence of India is in advance of the jurisprudence of England. But for the successful operation of the system in this country, it is necessary to impress upon the people a sense of their duty in this respect and to overcome their present reluctance to serve in the jury box.

On the conclusion of the paper:—

Babu Shamachurn Sircar supported the statements of the writer, and illustrated the subject by several instances which had come within his own experience, and in which a miscarriage of justice had been caused by the inferior character and venality of juries. He would especially recommend that all Mookhtears should be excluded from the jury list.

Babu Juggodanund Mookerjee knew only one case, out of—he might almost say—thousands that had come before him, in which a juryman had been offered a bribe. That case was in Nuddea; and he remembered another case in Hooghly, in which the jury acquitted the prisoner on the ground that he had already suffered sufficient imprisonment pending the trial. He considered, however, that the mode of selecting juries was open to objection, and he would be glad to see the duty of preparing the lists transferred from the Collector to the Judge or to the Principal Sudder Ameen, or to *native* Deputy Collectors who were well acquainted with the district.

The Revd. J. Long objected to the discussion of the subject, as though the jury system were a novel institution in this country. The fact was that *punchayets* were of very great antiquity in connection with the village system of India, and probably dated further back than our own jury system He could not support the view that a high state of education was necessary to its efficiency, as there was a natural shrewdness about the Hindu, which generally led him to sift the evidence aright, and arrive at correct conclusions.

MR. A. MACKENZIE stated that shortly before his retirement from office, Sir Cecil Beadon had written a Minute upon the subject, in which he recorded his own firm conviction that the system of trial by jury might be extended not only to all districts of Lower Bengal, but also to all classes of cases, on the broad ground that the natives should be encouraged to interest themselves in the administration of the country. He had also called for the opinions of those who were qualified to judge as to the working of the system, with special reference (1) to the improvement of the jury lists; (2) to the exclusion of juries during the trial; and (3) to the remuneration of juries. The general conclusion seemed to be that it would be difficult to secure a sufficient number of respectable jurors to form *special* juries; and, although the Judges of Nuddea and the 24-Pergunnahs gave their opinion that the system had been moderately successful, still there was a unanimous feeling against any extension, and so the question for the present lay in abeyance.

BABU GREESH CHUNDER GHOSE thought that the object of the system was not so much to secure a better administration of justice as to accustom the people to self-government. This point had been entirely overlooked by the writer. He thought the people should be gradually instructed in the working of the system.

MR. BEVERLEY would have wished the writer of the paper to have given an opinion a to the influence of caste on the working of the system. He had heard it stated—with how much truth he would like to know—that a Brahmin was generally pretty certain of being acquitted by a native jury, and that a juryman of that caste possessed undue influence over his colleagues. If this were the case, perhaps Mr. Long would admit that further progress in education was desirable even for the well-working of the *punchayet* system. He believed indeed that, in Lower Bengal at least, *punchayets* were mainly used for the decision of questions relating to religion and caste.

BABU SREECOOMAR SIRCAR expressed himself in favour of the system.

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE NORMAN was of opinion that the present discussion might be useful in drawing attention to the improvement of the jury lists. He thought the lists should in the first instance be prepared by native Judges or by native Deputy Collectors, and be then subjected to a final revision at the hands of the Judge or Collector.

THE PRESIDENT thought that the thanks of the Association were due to the writer of the paper under discussion. There were several points in it, well worthy of consideration in addition to those which had been already commented upon, especially the remark regarding the imperfect knowledge which the Judges possess of the vernacular. He could well believe that a Judge's charge would not have that influence in guiding the jury which it ought to have, if there was any difficulty or want of power of expression in the colloquial language of the country. And even though a Judge might be a fair Bengalee scholar, still as a foreigner, he could not properly enter into the feelings and ideas of the people, and arrive at their motives of action. There was one point however in which he must correct the writer regarding the remuneration of jurors in England. Jurors were only paid in civil cases; in criminal cases they were not paid, unless it were perhaps some nominal sum as a mere matter of usage. He understood that in Assam the jurors were paid at the rate of eight annas per diem.

MR. MACKENZIE explained that a proposal had been made to increase the rate to five rupees a day, but that with the whole question of remuneration it was for the present in abeyance.

2.—*The Benamee system in its different branches.* By Babu Shamachurn Sircar.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

Benamee is a Persian term, formed of *bé* (without) and *nám* (name). The entire word *benamee* etymologically signifies the state of being without a name,—that is, without a *real* name. In common acceptation, however, it is applied to property which bears the name, not of its real, but of a fictitious, owner. The practice has grown up of itself and is not recognized either by Hindu or by Mahomedan law. There are several sorts of *benamee* transactions, which, however, may be reduced to two main branches. Some such transactions are made without fraudulent intentions of any kind; as where the *Kurtá* of a rich family, unable or unwilling to bear or take the trouble of attending a Government Office or Court of Justice, especially the Police and Criminal Courts, takes or executes a document in the name of any of his relations or dependents, while he himself remains the real owner and manager of the property to which it relates. *Benamee* transactions of this kind have not been considered by Courts of Justice to be blameable; and suits brought upon the allegations of such *benamee* transactions were taken cognizance of, and tried, by the highest Courts in India, as well as by the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The late Supreme Court, instead of condemning, so far complied with the general practice in this country of using the names of other persons, that, in many cases, the plaintiff has recovered on notes not in his own name, but in some other name, on giving evidence that the transaction was really his: such for instance that the money lent was his, and that he took the bond in the name of another.* The High Court in its appellate jurisdiction has also given a like encouragement to the real owner of the property sued for. For instance in *Prosonno Kumar Roy Chowdhuri* v. *Guruchurn Sen*† it held that the real owner of the property is the person who should

* See Morton's decisions, page 249.

† Sutherland's Weekly Reporter, Vol. III, page 159.

institute a suit for it. A *benamee* holder may sue as trustee on behalf of the beneficial owner, without disclosing the name of the real owner ; and if the defendant does not object to the suit proceeding in that form, and raises no issue upon the real title of the plaintiff, the suit may proceed and be decided. And the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in *Gosain* v. *Gosain* have rather recognised, nay, in a manner, legalized, the practice. The essential part of their Lordships' judgment in the above case runs thus :—" It is very much the habit in India to make purchases in the names of others, and from whatever cause or causes the practice may have arisen, it has existed for a series of years, and the transactions are known as *benamee* transactions. The criterion in these cases in India is to consider from what source the money comes with which the purchase-money is paid. To repeat the language of Lord Campbell, the criterion is the quarter from which the money comes ; and in the greater number of instances of *benamee* purchases, they are made in the names of persons ignorant at the time of their being so made."* Thus that august tribunal lent its sanction to the practice among Hindus of making *benamee* sales and purchases of the above kind, simply on the ground of the same being customary. But the adoption of a practice or custom which is repugnant to the law of God, and is not immemorial, is prohibited by the Hindoo law. Thus *Manu*,—" Immemorial custom is the transcendent law, approved in the sacred scripture, and in the codes of divine legislators ; let every man, therefore, of the three principal classes, who has a due reverence for the Supreme Spirit (which dwells in him), diligently and constantly observe immemorial custom. A king, who knows the revealed law, must enquire into the particular laws of classes, the laws or usages of districts, the custom of traders, and the rules of certain families, and establish *their* laws, *if they be not repugnant to the law of God.*"† Now the practice of *benamee* transactions, even of the above kind, not being immemorial, but being (as will be presently shown) a source of deceit, falsehood, and fraud, is certainly repugnant to the law of God, and, as such, ought to have been condemned by the Courts of Justice, amongst the Hindoos as repugnant to their own law, and amongst people of every other caste and creed in India on the ground of its being a source of falsity and fraud.

---

* Moore's Indian Appeals, Vol. VI, page 53.

† *Manu*, Chap. I, *v.* 108, and Chap. VIII, *v.* 41.

The other kind of *benamee* transactions is that which is made with the intention of defrauding. Courts of Justice have sometimes adjudged cases of this kind according to the established criterion, namely, the quarter from which the purchase-money was derived, and sometimes they have dismissed the party who had actually paid the purchase-money, and made the *benamee* purchase. For instance in *Nund Lal* v. *William Tayler and others*, the High Court in its appellate jurisdiction held that parties who stand by, and permit another to hold him out to the world as the real proprietor of their estate and thus induce persons innocent of their fraud to lend their money upon such faith, are not entitled to any consideration from Court of equity and good conscience.*

Thus the Courts of Justice have done all they could to do justice in the second kind of *benamee* transactions, which nevertheless do not seem to be much abated. t is habitual with almost all the *mooktears* or law agents to ask their clients, whenever properties are to be purchased by them, whether the same should be taken in their own names, or in the names of any of their relations or dependents, and at the same time to explain, as legal advisers, the advantage of acquiring and holding properties *benamee*, and the disadvantage of purchasing them in their own names; and their clients are thus persuaded to do what is less dangerous and more advantageous. Hence it is generally the practice of rich men to have *mooktears* and parasites about them to buy properties *benamee*, and make *benamee* what they already held in their own names. Strange, however, to say that, although by so doing they in some cases succeed in defrauding others, yet, as a madman is punished by his own madness, they themselves are not always safe from the hands of their own *benamee-dárs*; for, it is not unfrequently the case that a designing *benamee-dár* silently watches the opportunity, and then colluding with some influential persons, treacherously ousts the real owner or his heir, who is at length obliged to disclose the secret before a Court of Justice, and implore its assistance to restore the property to him.

The establishing and conducting of *Kothees* or mercantile firms on the *benamee* principle is another branch of *benamee* transactions of the fraudulent kind. It is almost habitual with the

* Weekly Reporter, Vol. V, page 37.

shurrafs and traders (generally of the North-West Provinces) to pick up one or two lucky names of their indigent relations or dependents, and establish business in those names, and cause it to be carried on by such partners who are generally men of straw, while they, the capitalists, remain behind the scene; and should any of those ostensible proprietors die, the name of the dead man (be he the ancestor of any of the existing partners or not) is still continued. But when a firm of this description fails, its constituents and creditors then discover the difficulty of realizing their dues. They of course bring actions and obtain decrees against the ostensible proprietors and members; but such decrees are scarcely ever satisfied.

I will cite a case which recently occurred, and which will at once give you an idea how fraudulent this sort of *benamee* transaction is. About three years ago, a *Kothee*, carried on in the name of one Gopal Dass, failed, and the creditors brought actions against that nominal proprietor, and one Hurjeebun Dass the ostensible partner. The latter absconded. Afterwards in execution of one of the decrees the said Gopal Dass was, with great difficulty and expense, arrested at Benares, and produced before the High Court in its original jurisdiction. But this personage was a lame pitiful infant, ignorant of what he was arrested for, and yet miserably distressed for the fault and default of others. The Court, however, being satisfied that he was an innocent party, ordered him to be released, and Hurjeebun to be arrested. After a long search Hurjeebun was arrested and brought up, and from his evidence it was discovered that Brijo Dass and Brindabun Dass were the real owners of the firm; and that the name of Brijo Dass was at first made use of in the *Khatta* books together with that of Gopal Dass, but was subsequently omitted. Upon this an order was made for the production of all of them; and Brijo Dass was, after a time, produced with a flowing native gown on his person, and a yellow *Khirkeedar* turban on his head; but with all this show of apparel, he pleaded inability to pay the debts of the firm, and applied for protection under the law for relief of insolvent debtors.

Benamees, alleged and pleaded on execution of decrees, are of frequent occurrence, and form, I believe, the largest branch of fraudulent *be-namee* transactions. Before execution of decrees, and in some instances before or after the passing of decrees, the debtors, who find no other means to save their property from sale

in satisfaction thereof, make the same *benamee*, generally with the intention of defrauding, and sometimes for the purpose of putting off and obliging the creditors to agree to lenient terms of settlement.

The following will show how daring are the frauds committed to evade execution of decrees. A female decree-holder of the Nuddea District applied to the late Sudder Dewany Adawlut to be put in possession of a portion of a Zemindaree decreed to her; and, as the case was appealed to the Privy Council, the order obtained by her was to find security in the Lower Court, and have possession in proportion to the security given. Accordingly the decree-holder borrowed of a very respectable native gentleman of this city Government Securities to the amount of twenty thousand Rupees and tendered them in the Court below. The execution-debtor then, finding no other means of stopping the execution of the decree, got one Juggodumba Dabea to file an objection, impeaching that unimpeachable security upon the allegation that the Company's Paper tendered was actually her property, it having been purchased *benamee* in the name of, and deposited for safe custody with, the said Baboo; that he had lent it without her permission and authority; and that it should therefore be rejected by the Court. This objection of hers being rejected in all its stages up to the Sudder Dewany, the judgment-debtor caused a regular suit to be instituted by the said Juggodumba upon the allegation as aforesaid. This suit also was appealed to the Sudder Dewany Adawlut, and I cannot say whether it was appealed to the Privy Council also, as I left that Court whilst it was pending trial there. The effect caused by such objection and suit was that the poor decree-holder had to pay for all this period the interest on the sum borrowed in the shape of Company's Paper, and that nobody was inclined to be a surety for the execution of her decree. Surely no one would be so foolish as to get into so much trouble, and jeopardize his property for a small gain.

It is almost invariably the case that whenever execution of a decree is taken out, and property is seized in the Mofussil, an objector comes forward and alleges the property to be a *benamee* tenure, and himself to be the real owner thereof, or sets on foot a fraud like the above, and the perpetrator generally goes unpunished, nay, is often successful by the clever premeditated management of his law agent. Hence, I believe, is the origin of the common saying in this country that "a man's troubles commence as soon as he obtains a decree."

The only law which prohibited *benamee* transactions before 1859 was Regulation XI of 1822; unfortunately, however, that merely provided against purchasing lands at a public auction in a fictitious or substituted name. But being, as it is, unattended with any sort of punishment, it had no effect whatever, for, not to speak of the private sales and purchases in the *benamee* character, which it could not at all prevent, even at public auctions *benamee* purchases used to be made as generally as they were before the promulgation of that law. To prevent this evil, the legislature seems to have enacted Section 36, Act XI of 1859, which runs thus:—"Any suit brought to oust the certified purchaser as aforesaid on the ground that the purchase was made on behalf of another person, not the certified purchaser, or on behalf partly of himself and partly of another person, though by agreement the name of the certified purchaser was used, shall be dismissed with costs." This, however, was nothing more than an improvement of Regulation XI of 1822, the punishment of dismissal with costs being only added thereto, and, as such, it operates within the same narrow limit as the former. There is also a Section in the new Procedure Code, I mean Section 260, Act VIII of 1859, which respects *benamee*, and the wording whereof is, that "The certificate shall state the name of the person who at the time of sale is declared to be the actual purchaser, and any suit brought against the certified purchaser on the ground that the purchase was made on behalf of another person, not the certified purchaser, though by agreement the name of the certified purchaser was used, shall be dismissed with costs." This is almost to the same effect as the above, the only difference between them being that this extends to purchases made in execution of decrees, while the other applies to purchases made at public sales for arrears of revenue; so neither of these enactments provides any thing against private *benamee* sales and purchases which are of more frequent occurrence, nor even against the gross frauds committed by means of public sales and purchases upon third parties. The High Court seeing that Section 260 of the Code of Civil Procedure refers only to suits between a *benamee-dár* and the beneficial owner, and not to a case where a gross fraud has been practised upon a third party, had no alternative but to dismiss a suit where the decree-holder sued to set aside as fraudulent the sale of his judgment-debtor's property which was sold and purchased by his servants *benamee* for his benefit, and which was proved to be in the possession of the judgment-debtor, and to make the property

liable in satisfaction of his decree.* Thus from a defect in the law parties committing gross frauds are suffered to go unpunished; nay, as already remarked, they are frequently successful.

A mortgage in the English form, which may be said to be the most elaborate and complete of all forms, and in which attorney and counsel spare no time and labor to insert as many words and clauses as they possibly can to protect the interest of their client, the mortgagee, and secure the repayment of the money advanced by him, is not always sufficient to protect the mortgagee from being defrauded by means of a *benamee* transaction. In *Rammanick Shaha and others* v. *Bindabun Chunder Potdar and others*†, the mortgagor in possession had been entrusted with the dominion over the mortgaged property by the mortgagee to whom the property was mortgaged in the English form; he made wilful default and caused the property to be sold for arrears of Government revenue, and purchasing it *benamee*, ingeniously defrauded the poor mortgagee to the surprise of his legal advisers.

As to the Courts' unestablished criterion, namely, the ascertainment of the party from whose funds the purchase-money was paid, it also sometimes fails to lead to a just conclusion. In a suit arising in the district of Nuddea, wherein a nephew had, in collusion with the influential part-proprietor of a *benamee* property, managed to oust therefrom his maternal uncle and cousins who had bought it in his name, the *benamee-dár* had, by premeditated arrangements and precautionary measures, so cleverly managed to prove the payment of the purchase-money from his own funds, (though he was a man of straw) that, had not Babu Ramlochun Ghose, the late Principal Sudder Ameen of Nuddea, and Babus Prosonno Coomar Tagore and Ubinash Chunder Gangooly and myself, been examined as witnesses, my belief is that the balance of the evidence given in the Mofussil would have been in favor of the *benamee-dár*.

The enactment of a law prohibiting the dispensers of justice to take cognizance of all and every sort of claim upon the allegation of *benamee*, and prescribing a most severe punishment for the perpetrator of a fraudulent *benamee*, as well as for the person treacherously defrauding in or by a *benamee* transaction, is the only means to put an end to this nefarious practice and the fraud originating therefrom.

---

* Weekly Reporter, Vol. I, page 329.

† Weekly Reporter, Vol. V, page 230.

If it be asked why the cognizance of all and every sort of *benamee* suits should be refused without exception, inasmuch as *benamee* transactions of the first kind are not made for the purpose of defrauding, but only to save the real owners from being troubled and insulted by the Civil and Criminal Courts, the Police and other Government Offices; my reply is, that the purpose of the maker of such *benamee* may be honest (though his purpose is known to himself, and to himself alone), but it is not unfrequently the case that in this kind of *benamee* also, the creditors of the real owner are defrauded, and a parcener deceives his co-parcener, a servant his master, and a near relation his near and dear connection. In the very case *Gosain* v. *Gosain*, which was decided without any remark as to the impropriety of the practice, the elder brother tried all he could to deceive his younger brother, although the intention of the father in buying the disputed property in the name of his elder son might have been honest, and simply for the purpose of saving himself from trouble. But even granting for argument's sake that this kind of *benamee* is not so sinful and pernicious as the other kind, still none can deny that it is a source of falsehood and deceit; for, whenever the real owner of a *benamee* property has to say anything officially or upon oath with respect to the ownership of that property, he solemnly avers that it is not his property, while on the other hand, the fictitious owner thereof does on like occasions barefacedly affirm that it is his own property. I have seen several such persons present petitions and give depositions on oath in the manner aforesaid. The sooner, therefore, that the cause of such false statements and fraudulent transactions be put an end to by the strong hand of law, the better. By the enactment of such provisions, as in the sections cited, the legislature has in a manner stopped the institution of suits upon the allegation of *benamee* purchases at public sales; but there is nothing to check gross frauds practised, as already shown, upon third parties by means of *benamee* purchases even at public sales, the numerous fraudulent acts and transactions by private *benamee* sales and purchases, and the numerous suits brought upon the allegations of *benamee* on the occasion of taking out execution of decrees; there is also nothing to prevent the fraudulent *benamee* transactions of the *Kothee-wallahs* and *Mahajuns*. All such evils and mischiefs, caused by the different kinds of *benamee* transactions, should therefore be represented to the Legislative Council, and it should at the same time be referred to the learned and elaborate Bill for the abolition of the *benamee* system which was presented by the

late Sir Arthur Buller a short time before his leaving India, and which, I believe, is still extant in the Council Office; and then I trust the Council will not hesitate to enact a law condemning and disallowing the *benamee* practice, prescribing severe punishment for the party or parties having recourse to any kind of *benamee* transactions, and prohibiting the dispensers of justice to take cognizance of any suit that may be brought upon the allegation of *benamee;* for the practice in question is not only baneful to the people of India, but also wastes a large portion of the valuable time of the Courts of Justice, and, above all, it is incompatible with the good name of the BRITISH GOVERNMENT to allow such a practice to prevail in its dominion. When such a law is passed, a brother will be safe from his brother, a relative from his relative, a parcener from his co-parcener, a partner from his co-partner, a sharer from his co-sharer, and a principal from his servant or dependent; and decrees of Courts will no longer remain in abeyance as so much waste paper!

IN opening the discussion on this paper, the HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE NORMAN thought that the writer had mixed up two very different subjects, *viz.*, fraudulent conveyances and *trust* transactions. The former doubtless should be checked and punished by the Courts of Justice, wherever they were brought to light. But he (MR. NORMAN) objected to run a Don Quixote course again all *benamee* transactions whatever. The system in fact which had been so strongly condemned by the writer was not peculiar to this country. A similar practice was invented by English conveyancers, and used to protect the owners of landed property from certain inconveniences of the feudal system. He would remind the meeting of the English statutes of Henry VIII relating to uses and trusts; how it was enacted that where estates were held by any person *to the use of another*, this latter person should be deemed to be the true owner to all intents and purposes. What was the effect of that statute? It had simply become a dead letter. It had been said that the only effect was to add three words to the form of a conveyance. An estate would now be conveyed to A. B. to the use of C. D. *in trust for E. F.* At the same time, he (MR. NORMAN) could not help saying that the *benamee* system in this country was often something very different from a mere trust; it led to very serious inconveniences, and it would be well if people properly understood the difficulties in which it was possible that it might involve them. He might instance a case in which a man had sued for money which had been lent in the name of his infant son. The Court decreed the claim, but the money was kept, and would be kept in Court, until the proper owner either comes of age or is in some manner represented. This was a case which had lately occurred, and he would wish that such cases should be reported for general information. When the people felt and appreciated the inconvenience of the system, he thought that it might be left to their good sense to discontinue it without the necessity for any special legislation on the subject.

BABU SREECOOMAR SIRCAR urged the general prevalence of the system among the mercantile classes, especially among Marwaree traders. It was not

at all uncommon for one of these merchants to lend his credit to a speculation, taking care, however, to let another man's name appear; and if the transaction ended in loss, the ostensible party, who might be a man of straw, was thrown over. The system was dishonest in itself, and should, therefore, he thought, be put down by the legislature.

BABU JUGGODANUND MOOKERJEE remembered the discussion on this question when Sir Arthur Buller was in Council. That gentleman had at the time a Bill in hand, and did him (the speaker) the honor to consult him on the subject. It was fully considered then whether the discontinuance of the system might be effected by legislation, or should rather be left to the people themselves. The difficulty which presented itself, was as to the practical effect of any law which might be enacted. Would it be possible to say that the real owner should be deprived of property which he had purchased *benamee?* If property were bought by a father in the name of one of several sons, was it not to be divided on the father's death? That was precisely the issue in the case cited by the writer—*Gosain* v. *Gosain.* The plaintiff sued for a division of property which had been acquired by the father in the name of an elder brother. What could the Courts do in such a case? They could not punish the father, because he was dead. Any punishment which might be inflicted could only fall on an innocent boy. And to say that because the property stood in the name of one brother, the other should, therefore, be deprived of it, would surely be very unjust. Since the discussion, however, to which he referred, the question of fraudulent *benamee* transactions had undergone considerable modification. The Penal Code provided penalties for such cases; the Putnee Law too and the Revenue Sale Law both provided, as far as possible, against the occurrence of such transactions.

BABU SRINATH CHANDRA concurred with the writer of the paper in condemning the system of *benamee* transactions, but at the same time he could not advocate the necessity of legislation to put it down. He thought it would be impossible to observe the distinction which existed between *benamee* transactions which are essentially fraudulent, and those which are merely by way of trust.

BABU SHAMACHURN SIRCAR having briefly replied—

THE PRESIDENT stated that he agreed with Mr. Justice Norman in thinking that sufficient distinction had not been maintained by the writer between cases of trusteeship and fraudulent transactions. *Bonâ fide* cases of trusteeship really needed the protection of the law, instead of an attempt being made to put them down. He illustrated this position by an example. In England, the attempt to abolish vicarious holding of land, as Mr. Norman had stated, was not only unsuccessful, but had introduced the most subtle and scientific system of real property law ever known. Where a dishonest intention was manifest, the Courts, he thought, were strong enough to deal with it. Of course he did not pretend to be so fully conversant with the effects of the system upon Native society as the writer was, but at the same time he would be very sorry to see any attempt made to introduce any material alteration into the present state of the law, unless accompanied by every possible safeguard for the maintenance of *bonâ fide* trusts.

EDUCATION.

1.—*Mahomedan Education in Bengal, by* Moulvi Abdool Luteef Khan Bahadur.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

The subject of Mahomedan Education in Bengal naturally divides itself into an estimate of what has been accomplished in the past, and a consideration of what yet remains to be done, with the means of doing it, for the future.

For the first, there is before us the history of the Calcutta Madrassah, embodying the origin of the first movement made under British auspices for elevating my co-religionists from the condition of listless lethargy and self-abasement, into which they had fallen, when power and sovereignty in the land had departed from their race. The idea was due to that extraordinary man, Mr. Warren Hastings, who, in the year 1781, laid before his colleagues in Council a scheme for the establishment of a Mahomedan College, in words which I transcribe from his Minute :—

"In the month of September 1780, a petition was presented to me by a considerable number of Mussulmen of credit and learning, who attended in a body for that purpose, praying that I would use my influence with a stranger of the name of Mudjid O'din, who was then lately arrived at the Presidency, to persuade him to remain there for the instruction of young students in the Mahomedan law and in such other sciences as are taught in the Mahomedan schools, for which he was represented to be uncommonly qualified. They represented that this was a favorable occasion to establish a Mudrussah or College, and Mudjid O'din the fittest person to form and preside in it; that Calcutta was already become the seat of a great empire, and the resort of persons from all parts of Hindoostan and Deccan; that it had been the pride of every polished Court, and the wisdom of every well-regulated Government, both in India and in Persia, to promote by such institutions the growth and extension of liberal knowledge; that in India only the traces of them now remain, the decline of learning having accompanied that of the Mogul Empire; that the numerous offices of our Government, which required men of improved abilities to fill, and the care which had been occasionally observed to select men of the first

eminence in the science of jurisprudence to officiate as Judges in the Criminal and Assessors in the Civil Courts of Judicature, and (I hope this addition will not be imputed to me as ostentation on an occasion on which the sincerity of what I shall hereafter propose for the public patronage will be best evident by my own example) the belief which generally prevailed that men so accomplished generally met with a distinguished reception from myself, afforded them particular encouragement to hope that a proposal of this nature would prove acceptable to the actual Government.

"This was the substance of the petition which I can only repeat from my memory, having mislaid the original.

"I dismissed them with a promise of complying with their wishes to the utmost of my power. I sent for the man on whom they had bestowed such encomiums, and prevailed upon him to accept of the office designed for him. He opened his school about the beginning of October, and has bestowed an unremitted attention on it to this time, with a success and reputation which have justified the expectations which had been formed of it. Many students have already finished their education under his instruction, and have received their dismission in form, and many have been dismissed unknown to me, the Master supposing himself limited to a fixed monthly sum which would not admit a larger number. Besides day scholars, he has at this time forty boarders, mostly natives of these provinces, but some sojourners from other parts of India. Among them I had the satisfaction of seeing on the last New Year's Day some who had come from the districts of Cashmere, Guzerat, and one from the Carnatic.

"I am assured that the want of suitable accommodation alone prevents an increase of the number. For this reason I have lately made a purchase of a convenient piece of ground near the Boitcannah, in a quarter of the town called Podpokur, and have laid the foundation of a square building for a Mudrussah constructed on the plan of similar edifices in other parts of India.

"Thus far I have prosecuted the undertaking on my own means, and with no very liberal supplies. I am now constrained to recommend it to the Board, and through their channel to the Hon'ble Court of Directors for a more adequate and permanent endowment."

But even in the great mind of Mr. Warren Hastings, the higher objects for which education has now come to be valued amongst us, seem to have had neither place nor foreshadowing. For on the practical people he had to address, he urges the encouragement of Mahomedan literature, not only as recommended by the example of the past rulers of India, but also as calculated to supply the want of properly educated officers to discharge the functions of "Judges in the Criminal and Assessors in the Civil Courts of Judicature."

In those days, when our early English masters devoted themselves principally to the pursuit of commercial profit and the collection of revenue, they found occupation enough without interfering in the actual management of the provinces as settled by their predecessors. To the mass of the people the change of Government brought no foreign usages or customs. The Law Courts were left in the hands of the same agency as before. Mahomedan Law and Mahomedan Lawyers still reigned supreme, and a knowledge of Arabic and Persian literature remained as indispensable qualifications for official distinction and success as they had ever been under the Subadars. When, therefore, the Governor General proposed to his Council the means of keeping up a regular supply of learned Moulvies and Kazees, for the legal institutions of the country, he neither exaggerated the objects to be attained, nor in their attainment aimed beyond the bare requirements of the moment. In a Minute, dated January 1785, Mr. Warren Hastings explains them in language which leaves no doubt as to the purpose for which the new College was founded—"It had," he says, "been deemed expedient on maxims of sound policy to continue the administration of the Criminal Courts of Judicature, and many of the most important branches of the Police, in the hands of Mahomedan officers. To discharge with credit the duties and functions annexed to those jurisdictions, it is necessary that the persons who hold them should not only be endued with natural talents, but also that they should be possessed of a considerable degree of erudition in the Persian and Arabic languages, and in the complicated system of laws founded on the tenets of their religion. This species of erudition has for some years past been much on the decline: since the management of the revenues has been taken into our hands, it has chiefly been carried on by the English servants of the Company, and by the Hindoos, who, from their education and habits of diligence and frugality, possess great advantage over

the Mahomedans in conducting all affairs of finance and accounts. In consequence of this change, the Mahomedan families have lost those sources of private emolument which could enable them to bestow much expense on the education of their children, and are deprived of the power which they formerly possessed of endowing or patronizing public seminaries of learning. The Foujdaree Department, which affords but a bare subsistence to the officers employed in it, neither possesses the means of encouraging, nor holds out a prospect capable of inducing, the sons of the once respectable but now decayed and impoverished Mahomedan families, to qualify themselves for succeeding to the duties of it, by a long and laborious course of study.

"These reflections about four years ago suggested to me the idea of founding a Mudrussah or College for the cultivation of Mahomedan literature in the town of Calcutta."

To bring this knowledge within the reach of respectable Mahomedan families, whose decay was to be deplored on their own account, as well as on account of the Government, which in those days was virtually based on their alliance and co-operation, the Madrassah rose into existence; and for upwards of half a century furnished the bulk of those Mahomedan Law Officers, who, whether as the paid servants of the State, or as the legal advisers of all ranks of the population, have been intimately associated with the judicial administration of the Lower Provinces.

For the support of the Madrassah, ample revenues were given. At the beginning, certain lands in the 24-Pergunnahs were made over, which are known to this day as constituting the Madrassah Mehal, but they were subsequently resumed, and the fixed sum of Rs. 30,000 a year was assigned in 1819, which, after repeated declarations by the Home Government, may well be considered as inalienable an endowment as any that could have been established on the rents of broad acres, or the proceeds of funded securities.

This is not the place, nor have I the time, to recapitulate the grounds on which the Governor General set aside the annual income above mentioned for the promotion of Mahomedan Education. It is sufficient to state the fact that the allotment of public revenue took the place of income derived from land, after repeated failures on the part of those entrusted with the supervision of the Madrassah Mehal to keep its affairs in order,

and after Government had been compelled to resign its proprietary right in the mehal to a claimant, whose title, as proved after official scrutiny, superseded the gift which had been made of the land to the Calcutta Madrassah. It should also be sufficient to say that the view taken by successive Governments of India, when pressed to introduce changes into the Madrassah calculated to divert its funds into channels for which they were never intended, has been opposed to their alienation, on the ground that they had been specifically appropriated, and could not be otherwise applied.

When the controversy between the rival claims of English and Oriental Colleges as the instruments of disseminating European knowledge among the people of India reached its climax a quarter of a century ago, the late Court of Directors, in a despatch dated January 1841, decided that "the funds assigned to each Native College or Oriental Seminary should be employed exclusively on instruction in or in connexion with that College or Seminary, giving a decided preference within these institutions to the promotion, in the first instance, of perfect efficiency in oriental instruction."

For full 25 years or more after its foundation, the Madrassah continued under exclusively Native management, doing nothing more than, as designed by the founder, providing men learned in Mahomedan law and religion for the Courts of Justice, and keeping up throughout the land in the pious establishments mantained by devout Mahomedans, and in the houses of the wealthy among them, a love of scholarship and letters. The institution soon acquired a strong and effective hold on the affections of the Mahomedan population. Perhaps I am not wrong in saying that, of all the Educational Establishments in Bengal which owe their inception altogether to the English Government, the Madrassah is the only one that has so entwined itself into the every-day regard of the people for whom it was founded. I know what the old Hindu College and the Medical College have achieved in their way, and the measure of popularity among my Hindu fellow-countrymen to which they deservedly attained, when the justly alarmed prejudices of primeval Hinduism had been clean swept out of the path of progress and enlightenment. But it must be remembered that both those Colleges, in their strictly educational aspect, have moved out of their depths the intelligence and moral sentiment of only a particular class of the Hindu popula-

tion, the richer and more respectable section, who still monopolise whatever the British Government has to bestow on the cause of education in Bengal. To the vast mass of the Hindu population, they barely exist even in name and significance. But the Madrassah has come to be looked upon by all orders of Mahomedans as peculiarly their own national place of education, and it has given them what they wanted, in the way in which they wanted it. To them it was more than a mere school of literature and science. Their law, which is the great basis of Mahomedan society, there found its reliable interpretation. For many years the learned Professors of the Mahomedan College have, by the common consent as well of the Government and of its highest legal tribunals, as of the community of Islam, been referred to as umpires and arbiters on the most difficult questions of Mahomedan law and usage, and their decisions have been accepted far and wide for the settlement of litigation and the determination of political inheritance. In religion, the Madrassah has always had the reputation of being the stronghold of *Suni* orthodoxy—the religion, that is, of the large majority of the Mahomedans of India. The regulations of the College enforced religious discipline among the pupils, and it was ordered that the Khutteeb or reader of the Koran, and a Mouazzin or crier, shall regularly attend at the Mudrussah, that the students may daily perform such acts of religious worship as are prescribed by the rules of the Mahomedan faith." At stated seasons, the Government defrayed the expenses attendant on the celebration of Mahomedan festivals. It is no wonder then that Mahomedans of all ranks and degrees have ever turned to the Madrassah with an affectionate and reverent fervour, and may I never live to see the day when, whatever revolutions betide the old College, the Mahomedans of Bengal shall have cause to view it differently.

There is no doubt that during the period the Madrassah remained under purely Native control, very gross abuses crept into it, and most necessary reforms were effected when, on the appointment of a European Secretary in 1819, a method was introduced in the course of instruction and in the bestowal of honors and rewards. At the same time a very decided movement occurred outside among the other sections of the Native community for profiting by the inducements held out by the Government to the cultivation of Western literature and science; and it was fitting that the Madrassah should participate in the career of advancement. An English class was formed in 1826, which was abruptly broken up, but re-formed and organized as an English School in 1829,

continuing in existence down to 1853. The following extract is taken from *Kerr's Review of Public Instruction in Bengal*, Part II, page 84:—"It was at first composed entirely of scholars on the Mudrassah foundation,"—that is, stipend-holders of the Arabic classes, who, according to the original constitution of the College, were paid to receive instruction in its various studies,—"but," continues Mr. Kerr, "as there were numerous applications for admission from without, the classes were at an early period thrown open to Mahomedan boys in general. As a temporary measure, stipends of Rs. 8 a month were granted to any number of pupils not exceeding 25, who were desirous of learning English. It was also resolved that all who received Arabic stipends should likewise learn English. It was originally proposed that a small fee should be demanded from the out-students, but the idea was abandoned on account of their general poverty. This proposal, however, was subsequently revived." The result of this paying system will be appreciated when I note that in 23 years 1,787 students paid schooling fees amounting to Rs. 3,923, or Rs. 2-7 per head, which gives the contribution of each scholar at one anna and eleven pie per annum, the cost to Government being Rs. 58 per annum. Throughout the history of education in Bengal, I do not think there has been an instance in which the Mahomedan idea that education should cost money to the giver, and not to the receiver, has been more signally asserted.

The condition under which holders of Arabic stipends were bound to attend the English School could not have been strictly carried out, for it happened that in a short time the English School was altogether given up by the pupils of the Arabic College, and was attended chiefly by those who came from outside to learn the little English that was imparted in the Madrassah. During a period of nearly 25 years, the Junior Scholarship standard was attained by only a very few students. To all intents and purposes, the English School, although held within the premises of the Madrassah, had neither life nor part in the daily routine of the College itself. The purpose which it was to have served was the inculcation of European principles of thought and action in minds matured by Arabic learning, which, after being thoroughly imbued with the influences of European philosophy, were to have brought forth fruit in a new and vastly improved literature for the Mahomedan world. The conception was truly grand and worthy of the great men who sought with the means at their disposal to give it shape and reality. Besides the establishment of the English School, another means resorted to for creating a powerful impression on the Mahomedan

understanding was the translation of books from the European languages into Arabic and Persian for the benefit of Mahomedan readers. The proposal originated in the year 1823 with Dr. Lumsden, then Secretary to the Madrassah Committee, and an amusing, if not an instructive, account is given in Mr. Kerr's book of the arguments by which the Government was persuaded to waste a good deal of money in the enterprise. Dr. Lumsden commenced by employing a Moulvi to translate European books for the use of the Madrassah. He then recommended to the Government, through the Madrassah Committee, that the translations already made "should be encouraged by offering prizes to those who passed a successful examination in them. This he conceived was all that could be done at present in furtherance of the desire of Government to encourage the study of European science in the College. The more complete attainment of the object would involve the necessity of an application to the authorities at home for the purpose of engaging the services of a competent lecturer, and furnishing the institution with proper apparatus. If a lecturer should hereafter be engaged, it would be necessary for him to make himself master of Arabic and Persian. Dr. Lumsden recommended, in the mean time, the appointment of a Native Translator who had some acquaintance with English.

"Mr. Shakspeare considered that the appointment of a Translator, with a view to the introduction of European science, was highly desirable. A portion of the educational fund could not be better applied than to such an object. The question, however, was yet undecided, whether the Natives could be best instructed in the European sciences through the medium of their own language, or by the previous acquirement of English. In his opinion the former plan was preferable.

"Mr. Martin agreed in the opinion that the translation of elementary treatises was apparently the most eligible method of introducing European knowledge. Judgment would, however, be required in the selection of works to be translated. If it was intended to furnish the Mahomedans with the means of acquiring that knowledge which might best direct their practice in life, and might best qualify them for discharging with integrity and ability all their civil and social duties, he would be disposed to recommend the translation of elementary treatises on ethics and politics, including the general principles of natural and municipal law, rather than of works on mathematical science.

"Mr. Sutherland considered that if they wished to afford encouragement in what are called the exact sciences, they must call to their aid the improved systems of Europe. This must be done by compilations and translations in an Oriental language. These he would encourage rather by premiums offered for work done than by a monthly salary. But in order to impart European notions of moral excellence, or to diffuse a taste for English literature, he thought it would be desirable to encourage the study of English, if such a measure would be acceptable to the students.

"The result was that the General Committee, in a letter to Government dated January 1824, recommended the appointment of a Native Translator on a salary of Rs. 100 a month, as a preparatory step in the diffusion of European knowledge. Government sanctioned the appointment.

"The process of translating European works into Arabic was commenced, but went on but slowly. The first book translated was Brydge's Algebra. After an interval of some years, a single volume of Hutton's Mathematics was prepared for the Press. It soon appeared that the work of enlightening the Natives by this method would be very gradual. The advocates of the system said that more books might have been translated, but this did not alter the fact that they were not translated. And then arose the question whether they were translated well—a point not easily determined."

Sir Charles Trevelyan, in his work "On the Education of the People of India," p. 11, informs us that an "Edition of Avicenna was projected at an expense of £2,000; and as it was found that, after hiring students to attend the Arabic College, and having translations made for their use at the expense of thirty-two shillings a page, neither students nor teachers could understand them, it was proposed to employ the Translator as the interpreter of his own writings at a further expense of Rs. 300 a month!"

At a later period (1847), when it was discovered that the Arabic students for whom the English School in the Madrassah was intended, with but few exceptions, hardly availed themselves of its advantages, another class, called the Anglo-Arabic Class, was formed for the exclusive advantage of pupils from the Arabic Department.

Happily those fancies have been confessed to be impracticable, under which a revolution, as mighty as the awakening of modern

Europe, was to have been brought about among a people so full of belief in their past, as Mahomedans are everywhere found to be, by the study of translations of Hutton's Mathematics, Brydge's Algebra, and the like. These attempts at anglicising the superstructure of the Mahomedan mind over the basis of a half-formed Arabic Scholarship have failed as they deserved to fail, and the failure has left lessons which, having yet been but partially utilised, are worthy of the most serious attention. With the experience of the past for a guide, there is no presumption in making the declaration that no endeavour to engraft upon a strictly Arabic foundation those principles and ideas of European civilization which have developed themselves out of the lives and histories of European nations, can hope to succeed. This would be intelligible enough in the case of any people, but in that of the Mahomedans of India, the explanation is so obvious, that in offering it, I beg to disavow any intention of proclaiming a discovery.

In a paper written some time in 1861 for the Hon'ble Sir John Peter Grant on the subject of the Hooghly Madrassah, I pointed out that educational efforts, to be of any avail among the Mahomedans of Bengal, must start with a due appreciation of the fundamental constitution of Mahomedan society. With your permission, I will read a portion of the remarks I made on that occasion:—

"At this place it becomes necessary for me to notice the classes into which Mahomedan society is divided. One of them is the learned, and the other the worldly class. The members of the first are famous for their love of learning, generally for its own sake. They think nothing of begging their bread to great distances, even to Arabia and Egypt, to study their favorite Arabic. They indeed may be said to literally obey the precept of the Prophet:

أطلبو العلم و لوكان بالصين

i. e., 'Pursue knowledge even to China.' They are generally poor, but in consequence of this disinterested and almost heroic love of learning, they are very much respected in society, and wealthy members of the worldly class take pride in forming connections with them. It is for the sole benefit of this class that private endowments are generally founded, and whatever religious merit there is in giving education is in giving education to this class. It is this class which supplies priests to the Mahomedan community, and altogether exercises great influence over it. But

many of its members have neither means, nor inclination, nor motive, for studying the English. And therefore, unless some educational provision from the funds of Hajee Mahomed Mohsin be made for this class, the object of the endower will be disregarded, the Mahomedan community dissatisfied, and the honor of Government compromised.

"The worldly class consists of those who are not anxious for an Arabic education, but would content themselves with sufficient Persian to enable them to transact business and move in society. This class is by far the most numerous, and possessed of wealth and property, including as it does the nobility, the gentry, and the merchants; and it is by this class that the benefits of an English education will be appreciated and sought after.

"In consideration of the above particulars, I beg most respectfully to suggest the establishment of a purely Arabic institution, or rather the retention of the existing one upon an improved basis, for the benefit of those members of the learned class who are undesirous of acquiring an English education, and of an Anglo-Persian School offering extraordinary advantages for the education of the rest of the Mahomedan community."

The matters of fact contained in the above are so well known to every body who has any acquaintance with the Mahomedans of this country, that it is not at all surprising that they were known to and recognised by the late Council of Education, and conduced in an essential degree to the adaptation of their plans for the improvement of the Madrassah to the ends to which they were directed. In a Minute on the subject by the late Hon'ble John Russell Colvin, dated the 18th May 1853, which is published in the Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XIV, I find the following:—

"A Mahomedan gentleman will teach his son Persian and enough of Arabic to make him fairly master of the composite modern Persian, and this is the education with which he commences when his son is 6 or 7 years of age. This is carried on to the age of 10 to 12, when those who are of the learned or erudite class, from relations of scholarly families, or persons desirous of taking rank as Moulvies, devote themselves chiefly to the Arabic. At this age a Mahomedan gentleman of the present day in Bengal, sensible of the necessity of English for his son's success in life, and not caring that he should be learned in the Arabic language or law, will be ready that his son should apply himself to English, carrying on at the same time his Persian

reading as a becoming accomplishment, and likely to be of benefit to his character. I need not say that there is in the Persian literature much elegant composition, much terse and graceful poetry (which is to the Mahomedans, for the familiar exercise of taste, and as his ready store-house of sentiment and practical wisdom, much what Horace is to us), and many excellent lessons of virtue.

* * * * *

"The conclusion, then, to which these facts seem to me strongly to point is that it is well to organize, in addition to the branch schools in Calcutta, and to the Mofussil institutions open to all persons, a special English education for Mahomedans, and this may be most easily done at the Madrassah, a place of learning which they regard as devoted to their benefit, and which is held in great respect and repute throughout Bengal.

"Mahomedans now come to the Madrassah from all parts of Bengal, and they will readily come to it for English and Persian, as well as for Arabic education (that is, for the training fit for an educated gentleman as well as for that of a learned scholar), in cases in which instruction in English may be valued, but in which there may be discouragement from the age of entrance and course of study in the Mofussil schools. I would then organize an Anglo-Persian Department in the Madrassah under really competent masters, to which students would be admitted at an age not exceeding 12 in any case. At the age of 15 the lad should determine whether to continue his English studies or to transfer himself to the Arabic classes. It is admitted by every one (and I have consulted every qualified person that I could think of) that the successful conjoint study of Arabic and English is impossible. Those who remain in the Anglo-Persian class will, as a matter of course, give more and more of their time, as they grow older, to their English studies, for the comparatively narrow range of Persian literature will soon be exhausted.

"I should look with much confidence to a considerable diffusion upon this plan of a superior English education among the better classes of Mahomedans. They are becoming quite alive in the districts under the Bengal Government to the value of English as a means of advancement in all departments of business."

The result is the Anglo-Persian Department of the Calcutta Madrassah, which, as far as it has been worked, has proved a decided success. Year after year it has sent up students for examination

by the officers of the University, many have been entered as under-graduates, two of them have already obtained the degree of Bachelor in Arts, and an impetus of a genuine aud lasting character has been given to the study of English among the Mahomedans. It is no small matter for rejoicing that what was feebly, because by false methods, attempted forty years ago, is now on the eve of accomplishment. I do not think it possible for any man to over-estimate the amount of good which is being achieved by the British Government in annually sending forth from the Madrassah young men of good social connections, well grounded in the elements of English and Mahomedan literature, who have acquired just such a taste of both as to wish for more, and whose influence and example are beginning to permeate through every movement of Mahomedan society. But the Anglo-Persian Department of the Calcutta Madrassah teaches only up to the Entrance Standard, and its under-graduates have either to join the Presidency College, to carry on their studies further in English, and qualify themselves for honors, or to join the Arabic Department of the Madrassah and select Arabic for honors. The latter course can land them only in the half-and-half results, of which the past failures in the Madrassah afford striking instances. As students exclusively of Arabic, they lose the benefit of the little English training they have acquired, for the Madrassah has no means of long continuing their instruction after the Entrance Standard has been attained; and it does not take much time to obliterate from their minds whatever little English they have learned. In the Presidency College, they are equally unfortunate in regard to the classical languages open to their choice, in preparing for the L. A. and B. A. Examinations. I need hardly remind you that in both these tests, English being the fixed language, the optional ones are—Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Hebrew, and Arabic. The Mahomedan student in the Presidency College, it will be confessed, is at an immense disadvantage, compared to his Hindu fellow candidates, in keeping up and improving his knowledge of the Arabic, which is to him what the Sanskrit is to them. I cannot for a moment believe that it can enter deliberately into the counsels of the British Government to treat the different sections of the Indian population, except on a footing of the most perfect equality. If some of them seem to have derived from the wise liberality of Government advantages not yet extended to others, it seems to me, that, in respect of the former, the British Government have, more clearly and more readily than in regard to the latter, been made to understand the precise thing wanted to be done and how

it was to be done. We have now arrived at that stage of intelligence in which we know the exact requirement of the moment. What is wanted is to place the Mahomedan in educational advantages on the same footing as the Hindu; and the way to do so is to add college classes to the Anglo-Persian Department of the Madrassah, and elevate it to the rank of at first a High School, and then of a College. In the first class of this Department, Arabic has already begun to be taught. After entering the University, further proficiency in Arabic will be secured to the aspirant for honors, by the means already existing within the Madrassah walls for the highest instruction in Arabic. The addition of advanced classes in English will complete the machinery for fulfilling the conditions of the University Course for the attainment of the highest honors in English.

It is beside my present object to speculate on the changes which must be introduced into the Arabic Department of the Calcutta Madrassah, in order to give it the place among the educational institutions of the country which its importance demands. That it does not occupy that place needs no demonstration, nor would it suit any practical end to discuss the causes of its failure. The well-founded impression is, that it has never had fair play ever since it ceased to be a mere nursery for Mahomedan Law Officers and Judges, and was left to itself to prove how it best could exhibit its usefulness as an adjunct to the educational progress of the age. I would draw your attention to the bare injustice of expecting the Calcutta Madrassah, with its subjects of instruction and the modes of instruction in them unchanged for nearly a hundred years, to take a part with the latest of model academies in contributing to the growth and extension of thought essentially modern and European. But because it has been unable to do so, I have heard it seriously argued whether the Madrassah should not be broken up altogether and its funds applied in other directions more likely to yield fruit meet for acceptance. I have watched, but have failed to observe even of late a disposition to be more equitable, and the views of the writer of an excellent article in the August number of the *Calcutta Review* may be taken as representing the point at which opinions among those European gentlemen who are at all capable of forming one on the subject, have arrived. Although he adds to the difficulty of the argument by mixing up the question of the Hooghly Madrassah, which is maintained altogether out of a private Mahomedan Endowment, with the Calcutta Madrassah, which is supported by an endowment from the State,

there is much in what he says that is valuable for my purpose. He has two problems before him—first, how to deal fairly by the bequest of Mahomed Mohsin, the founder of the Hooghly Madrassah; and secondly, how to devote the income of the Calcutta Madrassah, after confiscating it, to the good of the general public. The first, as the writer in the *Review*, with most praiseworthy candour allows, can only be done by following out what may most reasonably be presumed to have been the intention of the testator, *viz.*, the establishment of a College for the exclusive benefit of Mahomedans, and to this end, the reviewer is willing that there should be a well-endowed and well-conducted Madrassah at Hooghly, towards the support of which the major portion of the proceeds of Mahomed Mohsin's legacy should be used. He would also have an Anglo-Persian School at Hooghly like the one attached to the Calcutta Madrassah, but supported like the Hooghly Madrassah out of the Mohsineeah funds. The English College, kept up for the Hindus, so largely fed out of the same source, would be disconnected from it, and be maintained at the expense of Government; it would receive pupils from the Anglo-Persian School at Hooghly, after these had been entered on the rolls of the University. Lastly, he would abolish the Arabic Department of the Calcutta Madrassah, keeping on only the Anglo-Persian Department, and leave it optional to those desirous of acquiring a knowledge of Arabic to proceed to Hooghly and learn it in the Hooghly Madrassah. The reviewer has an alternative scheme, which is to keep up the Calcutta Madrassah, with its Anglo-Persian Department, but to do away with the Hooghly Madrassah, and spend five hundred Rupees a month out of the Mohsineeah Endowment towards the maintenance of a hundred Arabic scholars on Rs. 5 a month each at the Madrassah in Calcutta.

In either case, the abolition of one of the Madrassahs is recommended. With my very strong reliance on the good faith and wisdom of the Government, I do not apprehend that the suggestion one way or the other is likely to be carried out. In regard to the Hooghly Madrassah it simply cannot be done by the Government, which is the principal Trustee of the estate; in regard to the Calcutta Madrassah, the measure would involve such serious consequences that it were best that the matter for the present at least were left alone. But the point would never have been put forward for discussion, if the Calcutta Madrassah in its Arabic Department had received the care and attention which other Oriental Colleges in India, supported out of the public revenue, such as the Sanskrit

Colleges at Poona in the Deccan, and at Benares in the North-West, have undoubtedly obtained. If European modes of teaching and discipline had been as sedulously introduced into the Arabic classes in Calcutta, as they have been into the Sanskrit classes at Benares, by men like Dr. Ballantyne and others who have trod in his footsteps, there would have been no issue as to whether the money spent on the Madrassah was repaid by an honest amount of work accomplished. The thing would be far from impossible, if a scholar of Dr. Leitner's ability and learning were entrusted with the task of re-organizing the entire system of Madrassah education and of personally carrying reforms into effect.

As to the absolute necessity of pushing forward the advances already made in giving an English education to the Mahomedans of Bengal, there is happily no difference of opinion. The most obvious and readiest plan is the one I have ventured to suggest, *viz.*, the elevation of the Anglo-Persian Department of the Calcutta Madrassah to the status of a College. The prevalent notion seems to be that after passing the Entrance Examination, it is quite enough for a Mahomedan student to have the privilege of joining either the Hooghly or the Presidency College,—and this mistake seems to be committed even by the able and intelligent writer in the *Review*, who is fully conscious of the prejudices of the better class of Mahomedans against the association of their children with those of other creeds. He says—"The larger and what are styled the worldly class of Mahomedans, in order properly to fill their place in society, must learn Persian; if, therefore, they are mixed in the general department with students of other creeds, either all those students must be compelled to study Persian, or the Mahomedans must be placed at the disadvantage of having to compete with their fellows, handicapped with the weight of an additional language. Consequently even the school for the worldly class ought to be restricted to Mahomedans, though the pupils could not expect to be supported while learning. It is no doubt also true that the more respectable and consistent Mahomedans do not like to mix in school with other religionists, and considering that all the most conscientious persons in England and Ireland object to mixed education, we cannot be surprised if conscientious Mussulmans are of the same way of thinking."

The above applies to what is called "the worldly class" of Mahomedans, who are willing to learn English; and it does not seem why the sentiment, which is to be treated with tenderness and respect before the University Entrance Standard is passed,

should be ignored altogether after it. I should think that if the pride, or self-respect, or prejudice of Mahomedans be worth while conciliating, so far as to give them a school for the education of their children in the elements of European literature, a College for their exclusive benefit, requiring the expenditure of a few hundred rupees more, would not seem too great a sacrifice in the presence of the priceless effects to be produced. But the real issue of the moment opens out far higher considerations than those concerned in making a concession to a feeling which, after all the indulgence with which it is regarded, is looked upon by Englishmen as a weakness. Mahomedan education can never cease to have a strongly marked feature of political interest, which will force itself on the notice of all who desire to make the enlightenment of the Indian races the handmaid of loyalty and devotion to the British power. The current of public opinion on Indian politics, the orthodoxy of Indian statesmanship, the small talk of small men on almost every point connected with Indian administration, would undergo a change, if by any effort of the fancy it were possible to think and speak of the Mahomedans of Bengal as an English educated class. But what even the imagination dare not now conceive can be accomplished in time by means already at the command of the Government. I beg you to bear in mind that it is no longer open to debate whether respectable Mahomedans are willing to have their children imbued with the principles of a sound healthy English education. The wide gulf of time during which it remained doubtful has been passed over. There is the quickening of a desire for initiation into the blessings of European civilization in the Mahomedan mind which is manifested, it may be feebly here and there, but nevertheless with sufficient distinctness and character to indicate the birth of a life which needs growth and development.

The addition of a few College classes to the Anglo-Persian Department of the Madrassah will cost money: not all, however, at once. All the four classes which generally compose a Government College on this side of India need not be at once represented; they may be laid on as gradually as they become necessary. An attempt, as I understand, has already been made in the Anglo-Persian Department, with its present establishment of teachers, for carrying the pupils on a little further than the Entrance Standard. But whatever increase of expenditure may be called for, will be more than repaid in the lasting results that will ensue. For the present, they cannot be estimated from a pecuniary point

of view. If that mode of valuing the benefit of any improvement introduced by the British Government into this country had been applied from the beginning of their connection with us, to this day there would have been no education at all for any section of the Indian population. It is enough that we are able to see the right thing to be done at the right moment, leaving it to the justice, the liberality, and the foresight of the British nation to provide the means for doing it.

Sir Richard Temple remarked that much of his time in India had been spent among the Mahomedans, and he must congratulate the writer on the paper which had just been read. In most parts of India, the Mahomedan races still possessed vitality; the lower orders were still military, while the upper distinguished themselves in politics or literature. Wherever administrative capacity and energy were required, there would Mahomedans be found, now as ever. At Hyderabad, where he (the speaker) had spent the last few months, there were Mahomedan administrators and statesmen, one of whom, Sir Salar Jung, had a repute which might justly be a source of pride to his Mahomedan compatriots and co-religionists. Even in Bengal, though the climate and the associations were against them, we might still hope that the Mahomedans would soon emulate their brethren elsewhere.

The Revd. J. Long said that one great problem regarding the Mahomedans had been overlooked. Our policy had ruled that they were to be educated like the Hindus through the medium of the English language. The question had been fully discussed by him last year with some of the leading Mahomedans at Moorshedabad. There was no doubt that the Mahomedans had not the same aptitude and the same facilities for acquiring a knowledge of English as the Hindus possessed. He hoped we should not commit the same mistake in this country which had been committed with regard to Ireland, and from which England was now suffering. On the conquest of Ireland we had ruled that no Irishman should hold office unless he knew English, and the millions were consigned to ignorance with its consequent degradation. Such a policy was partial and unjust. Much knowledge might doubtless be communicated through the medium of the vernacular, as had been shown in the North-West Provinces, and he thought the present system of giving an almost exclusive preference to the English language was prejudicial to the interests of the country.

Moulvi Abdool Luteef replied that the system of imparting information regarding the Western Sciences through the means of translations had already been tried in Bengal and had proved a failure.

Moulvi Obedullah testified to the difficulty which was experienced by Mahomedans in the acquirement of the English language. He recommended the more general use of Arabic, as Urdu did not possess a sufficiently copious vocabulary for the expression of metaphysical and scientific terms.

Baboo Peary Chand Mittra wished to know whether any steps were being taken for the education of Mahomedan women. The efforts that

were being made in the cause of female education among the Hindus were well known, and he should like to hear if there was any similar movement among the Mahomedans.

DR. BEST pressed the question.

DR. FARQUHAR asked if any gentleman present would inform the Meeting as to the existence of any Mahomedan literature suited for their women, or whether it was the case that the books of general reading were seldom fit to be put into the hands of the female portion of the community.

In reply to these questions, MOULVI ABDUL HAKEEM (who spoke in Urdu) stated that female education was not unknown among the Mahomedans, so as to require any stimulus or encouragement from without. The education of their women went hand in hand with the promulgation of their religion. The first Mahomedan nation, the Arabs, had recognised its importance in the very origin of their society, and their women, as a rule, were well read in all the sciences and arts of the day, particularly in literature and poetry. Their Holy Prophet enjoined the education of women equally with that of men. His own wives and daughters were well educated; some of them were famous poetesses, and their compositions were extant at the present day. Similarly the wives and daughters of the Caliphs of Bagdad and Damascus as well as of Cordova were well educated. And with the spread of the Mahomedan religion from almost one end of the civilized world to the other, female education had been introduced into India, Persia, and other countries. The writings of many of the Begums and Princesses of Delhi were not yet extinct. Even to the present day the respectable portion of the Mahomedan community continued to educate their women. Under these circumstances, the speaker deprecated the necessity for any interference in the matter from without. The progress of education among the male portion of the community would, he argued, be necessarily accompanied by a similar progress among the female. None perhaps had the education of women more at heart, or were more convinced of its advantages, than were the Mahomedans. They well understood how children derived their first ideas and habits from their mothers, and how necessary, therefore, it was to provide that they were not spoilt in their very infancy. They were able, moreover, to appreciate the great assistance which an educated woman might render to her husband in the management of his household. But there was one thing which the Mahomedans could never be expected to do; they could not, like other nations, send their daughters to schools or colleges. They were bound by their religion to keep their women in seclusion, and they must conform to this injunction of their religion in the same way as other nations were bound by their respective creeds.

DR. CHUCKERBUTTY asked if any Mahomedan families had availed themselves of the *zenana* agency. It was well known that many Hindu gentlemen entertained the same objection to their daughters going out to school, but *zenana* education had made great progress during the last twenty years.

DR. FARQUHAR pressed for a reply to his inquiry regarding suitable Urdu books for women.

DR. EWART thought the discussion was rather deviating from the subject which was before the meeting.

BABOO MONMOHUN GHOSE criticised the system of teaching Oriental languages. He thought that Sanscrit and the European languages were much easier to learn than Arabic, because they were taught more scientifically. He urged that the Universities should do more to promote the study of the Oriental classics.

THE PRESIDENT in conclusion remarked that the subject was one of great importance, and the Association ought to be grateful to the writer for bringing it forward. It was observable, with regard to the Minute of Warren Hastings which had been read, that it related to a condition of society which was mainly Mahomedan. Since that time it was the fact that Mahomedan gentlemen had fallen from the position in the community which they then held, mainly in consequence of having been surpassed in education and professional acquirements by their Hindu compatriots. It ought never to be forgotten that the Mahomedan population was lately predominant in this country, and the recollection of their former power in connection with their present want of social importance was liable to engender feelings not of the most desirable nature. The subject was therefore of the highest political importance. We had not long ago experienced that the disaffection of the Mahomedans may be a serious evil, and he thought, therefore, that no opportunities should be lost of conciliating them by a spirit of fairness and justice, and of giving them the means of acquiring a good English education, without which they could have no chance of catching up their more successful rivals.

2.—*What is the best practicable method of educating Hindu Women? By* Babu Chunder Nath Bose, M. A.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

Notwithstanding all that has been said and written on the subject of female education in Bengal, it is no doubt a melancholy fact that the actual progress of education amongst our women has been up to this time not of the most satisfactory nature. The education of a large class of human beings, who seem to have received from the hands of their Maker a peculiarly disadvantageous position in the great commonwealth of the race of man, requires the concurrence of so many opinions and circumstances—the results, either normal or abnormal, of the general progress of civilization—that no scheme of female education can, I think, be expected to endure or to succeed, which does not quadrate with those social accidents which influence the destiny of every institution founded even on the soundest principles of abstract science and theoretical morality. The object of the science of sociology being the ascertainment of the laws of general or particular social developments, it is the business, I might almost say the duty, of this Association to investigate the nature and to estimate the prescriptive authority of those customs and opinions, which, being as it were the laws of our great social machinery, form the regulating principle and the governing arbiter of every scheme of social and intellectual progress. I am inclined to think that the entire failure of some, and the partial success of others, of the many schemes of female education that have been at different times propounded and adopted in this country, have been owing to a total oversight or an insufficient consideration of the great truth which I have just enunicated. It will be, therefore, necessary for me to describe, with as much minuteness as the limits of this paper will allow, the tendency of those social institutions which must be contemplated by every *practicable* scheme of female education, and to submit thereafter a plan which, crude as it will necessarily be, shall have for its object the reconcilement of what might be called the *incidence* of those institutions with the existence of a fruitful system of female education. Before, however, I do this, a brief description of the views of by far the majority of our countrymen regarding the proper function of women in the

economy of society and their education in the abstract, seems to me necessary for a right understanding of the influence which those views have had, and will continue to have for some time to come, upon the fortunes of so enlightened a scheme as that for the education of the female mind and the development of the female character.

It is a common idea amongst the less educated portion of our countrymen that the fair sex have been made by God the cause of most social evils. If a Hindu girl, who is doomed to all the miseries and privations of a widowed state, from an age when beauty begins to bloom and the pleasures of life to open, displays any immodest impatience at the melancholy monotony of her sepulchral existence, or breaks those physical restraints which an arbitrary social system has provided against the natural results of a heartless social institution, the dogmatic Hindu, who sacrifices all sense of chivalry in his absurd reverence for antiquity and its sanctified bequests, attributes the sad shipwreck of her morality to a depraved and obdurate will, which has nothing to obey but a spirit which nature herself has filled with the direst depravity. The housewife who spends more than the income of her husband would justify her in doing, is an evil spirit sent by God to ruin the family and mar its pleasures. The fair, lovely damsel, who, regardless of the past and heedless of the future, weeps away the brightest portion of her existence for sparkling jewels and *sarees* glittering with all the pride of silk and lace, is a sorceress whose love for the marriage-bed is measured by the number of her trinkets. One single woman who has lost her chastity is an argument for the unchaste tendency of female minds in general, and one bad housewife will raise and support the conviction that, but for the checks and restrictions of a rigorous domestic government, every family in Bengal would in a day be reduced to the verge of misery and destitution by the improvidence and carelessness of its presiding matron. The female mind is vicious by its very conformation, and the effect of education upon that depraved conformation would be the strengthening of that vicious tendency, and a social revolution, in which, the relative position of the two sexes being reversed, social virtue and domestic bliss would be swept away from the face of the earth. So thinks the old orthodox Hindu of woman and her education, and the patriarchal reverence and authority which time has attached to his position in the Hindu home have naturally secured for his opinion an almost unimpaired domination over the progressive spirit of the educated and enlightened Bengali. What are the probable causes of the

degraded position of our women, it is not for me to investigate here; but it is necessary for the purposes of this essay to bear in mind that, the idea of an inherent defect in the mental constitution of our women is an idea, which an unjust hierarchical social organisation, swayed by a corresponding hierarchy of duties and obligations, has chiefly contributed to produce and foster. Putting out of the account the necessary but modifiable influence of physical laws and phenomena, it may, I think, be asserted that, in the opinion which the old orthodox Hindu has formed of the female character, the results of ignorance and injurious social institutions have been mistaken for the inevitable symptoms of a naturally morbid mental pathology.

The dread with which the conservative Hindu mind contemplates the progress of female education, and the horrid images of that social corruption and anarchy, which appear to it to be the necessary consequences of all reformation of female society, are only another illustration of that great law of national thought which history has verified with almost inductive accuracy. The law I refer to is that habit of the mind which infers monstrous social evils and dangerous religious and political heresies from every departure from long-established customs and usages; and we need but recollect the view which was taken by the good and great Bishop Burnet himself of the rise and growth of that sceptical philosophy, of which Hooker and Chillingworth were, in England, and Montaigne and Charron, in France, the first systematic expounders, in order to be convinced of the force of this mental habit over the general mass of minds in a country. For the learned Bishop, I say, characterized as dangerous atheism that great agitation of the European intellect, which has marked modern civilization with its boldest and most attractive features. That education which forms and strengthens the principles of conduct will destroy all principles; that a girl, instructed in science and the arts, will lose all modesty and sense of decorum; that a woman when educated will neglect her proper duties in the family for what is considered to be the mere luxury of poetical and scientific studies; these are views which, it seems to me, only require to be stated in order to be refuted. I think it, however, proper to add that many of those feminine graces which, it is apprehended, will suffer a rude touch from education and enlightenment, are, in numerous instances, mere misnomers which it is necessary that education should correct. Female modesty, I apprehend, is often another name for stupidity, and bashfulness

the servile homage of a dejected and degraded spirit. But howmuchsoever we may deride these notions of the old Hindu as unfounded and erroneous, they must, I think, be taken into serious consideration in estimating the prospects of any scheme of female education as a national and popular institution. For, I think, the necessity of female education will never be perceived, nor its manifold advantages duly appreciated, by the great body of our countrymen, until, in addition to other circumstances to be mentioned hereafter, the generation of conservative Hindus shall have passed away. Neither, until time shall have accomplished that work, will the blessings of education enliven each Hindu home and render it a sort of little earthly paradise, in which the genius of wisdom, animating the soul of the lovely girl, will be like that heavenly messenger in the bowers of Eden, who charmed Adam with the exquisite music of his speech and ravished his soul with his high divine philosophy.

I shall not stop to describe the advantages of female education which have been fully set forth by far abler hands than mine in this very country, and which will be found depicted in glowing terms in the pages of Hannah More and Sydney Smith. Neither shall I indulge myself, much as I wish I could, in voluptuous descriptions of the virtues which render the Hindu home a seat of monastic holiness, where the husband is almost worshipped by the wife, and the father feared and reverenced as the great Author himself of this sublunary world. But I cannot help remarking that, in these very virtues which, it is feared, education will destroy, and which are in themselves the orthodox argument against the introduction of female education, we find sufficient proofs of a semi-barbarous social polity, which it is desirable that education shall invest with less imposing but more delicate features. And without intending any insulting or exact parallel, I think I may be allowed, for the mere sake of illustration, to say that the sight of masculine courage and patriotic zeal displayed by the Amazons of the Isle of Britain, flying like so many Furies through the woody paths of Mona to oppose the invincible legions of Imperial Rome, betrayed a primitive constitution of society in which the severest virtues, which strike the senses or the imagination of man, were unaccompanied by the charming but almost imperceptible graces of civilized life.* The old Hindu, overpowered by the massive grandeur and severe

* See Burke's Abridgment of English History, Book I.

austerity of the virtues which animate his partner's soul, is unable to conceive that there may be virtues less imposing indeed, but more congenial and grateful to the general weakness of man's mental nature. An acquaintance with these softer virtues is necessary for a just appreciation of the advantages of female education. And without waiting for that distant social millenium in which, the prejudices of caste and religion crumbling away beneath the omnipotent influence of time and circumstances, the civilized Bengali will wander through the streets of London, Cairo, and Quebec in search of wealth and fame, it may, I think, be justly expected that a freer and more intimate conversancy than we now possess with the ways of English domestic life in this country, will in no long time produce a salutary change in our ideal of the family model, and convince us of the importance of female education, howsoever carried on, whether within home or without, as a refining agency in the ordinary walks of life.*

The plan of education which I shall now submit before the critical public, though not without considerable hesitation, seeks to reconcile with its own being the direct and indirect influence of such social opinions and usages as have hitherto impeded the progress of female education. And I am sorry to say that the same social circumstances which have caused the necessity of making some such reconciliation, will also prevent the plan itself from being adopted in its integrity and acted upon on a desirable scale, until its character as a new social element shall have been found to be perfectly innocuous. I am not audacious enough to think that the plan will not require a trial as a merely tentative measure, which any one of our hundred antiquated opinions and usages may prove to be unsuited to the present circumstances of our society. But the plan ought, in my humble opinion, to have the benefit of a trial, as the object it has in view is of such vital importance.

In order to form a clear conception of the plan, I venture to propose, it is necessary to bear in mind that the system of education contemplated by it will for some years to come remain what might be called a monitorial system, in which the education of the monitors themselves will prevent for some time the perfect development of the plan and the production of its best results. It is

* I think it proper to add that it would be more than sanguine to expect that any better use than is here indicated can, in the present condition of our society, be made of European example and influence.

important, moreover, to premise that the plan embraces three different objects. In the first place, it seeks, as I have already said, to adapt itself to the various laws of our social organisation; secondly, it seeks, by means of suitable knowledge, to infuse into our female society a taste for those innocent pleasures which the works of man and the works of nature so abundantly supply, and thus to provide for future generations a class of ardent advocates and active supporters of female education in the persons of our women themselves; and, lastly, it aims at making the women of Bengal the instruments of refined social pleasures, of an improved domestic economy, and of a healthier and better-trained generation of boys and girls than we could possibly have at present.

Bengali girls must be educated in public schools till their 10th or 11th year, the period at which they generally enter into matrimonial life. But it is necessary, in order to make girls' schools a popular and efficient apparatus for the education of the mind, that they should be classified and modelled on a plan different from what obtains at present. We need not be afraid to confess that, constituted as our society is of a class of men whose antiquated traditions govern the actions of its remaining constituent—the representatives of the enlightened ideas of the present age, our views regarding female education and the means by which it may be best promoted are by a sort of necessity—the result of a transitional state of society—partly conservative and partly liberal. Much as we wish to educate our women, a thorough-going female education, obtained at the sacrifice of caste and at the risk of a consequent social excommunication, very justly seems to us a boon which imprudent temerity alone would desire to possess. And the imperfect success of those girls' schools which we have had in Calcutta for so many years is, I am inclined to think, the result of that peculiar social opinion which forbids the promiscuous mixture of persons of different castes, as opposed to the teachings of the Shasters and injurious to the honor and respectability of families—an opinion which governs far more strongly the mutual intercourse of the women than that of the men of Bengal, and the duration and authority of which will be, to speak somewhat loosely, almost measured by the duration and authority of the system of caste itself. To induce persons of all classes to send their girls to public schools for education, it seems to me necessary that there should be a gradation of schools corresponding to the gradation of our castes; that there should be schools for the higher classes alone, schools for the inferior classes alone, and, what is of far more consequence than either of these, schools for base-born

girls alone. The creation and maintenance of so many sets of institutions will, no doubt, be somewhat expensive, and, perhaps, also a little hurtfully invidious at the outset. But the experience of the changes in the history of the Calcutta Sanscrit College, which at the time of its foundation made it a rule to receive none but Brahmin boys, in obeisance to the self-same prejudice which it is the object of exclusive schools for exclusive castes to satisfy, enables me to hope that this complicated apparatus will soon become unnecessary. But the prejudice must be fed at first, in order that it may die the sooner of surfeit.

The primary object of all systems of education, and, therefore, of female education, should be to inspire in the mind a love for knowledge as such, regardless, at first, of all material interests which knowledge may ultimately secure. And the necessity of adopting this principle seems to be the greater in the case of female education in Bengal than it is in any other country. For, if the views of thinkers like John Stuart Mill regarding the admission of English women into English factories and workshops be considered, even in this age of England's meridian prosperity, as views rather in advance of the time, the notion of making female education in Bengal subservient to the purposes of female co-operation in the promotion of public wealth and industry must be decried as absurd and ridiculous. But admitting the impossibility of entertaining a democratic idea like this in the present circumstances of Bengali society, the studies of our girls must be so selected as to provide in the nature of the studies themselves a sufficient stimulus for the pursuit of knowledge. And I have no doubt that, if the scheme of studies which we shall digest for our females be really governed by the principle which, in the absence of all material considerations must be considered an indispensable condition of success, it will be eminently productive of collateral results, as salutary in their operation as they are desirable as subsidiary objects of female education.

To render knowledge attractive to our girls, it seems to me necessary that some of the mysteries of Nature, which cherish barbarous notions and superstitious feelings, should be explained to them in that popular and perspicuous light, in which the world with its variegated wonders appears to be the very model of simplicity intended by God for man's imitation in all his works and ways. A popular and experimental exposition of the phenomena of heat light, electricity, and the different elements embraced by the science of chemistry, will produce a radical change in the ideas of

our females regarding the moral government and the physical mechanism of the world we inhabit, and dislodge from their minds those cumbrous notions of female virtue and elegance, which betray a social structure highly superstitious, and in many respects unpoetical. Nor need we apprehend that the adoption of an experimental method of instruction in our girls' schools will be attended with any considerable difficulty either in a pecuniary or in an educational point of view. For, an exposition of such simple, natural, and experimental phenomena as the formation of dew and ice, the oxidation and de-oxidation of metals, the rise and fall of the mercurial barometer, the discharge of the Leyden jar, the electrical motto tube and the gassiot star,—which is all that we require for the purpose of infusing into the female mind a love of knowledge for its own sake,—will not, I think, involve such an apparatus of books and instruments as will exceed the resources of an unflagging zeal, a benevolent aristocracy, and a liberal and enlightened government.

A taste for flowers in a tropical country like India, whose *flora* is one of the most luxuriant on earth, may with sufficient facility be infused into our women; and it is naturally expected that the delicate but somewhat deadened sensibility of the Hindu girl, catching a balmy breath from the soft but silent music of the grove and the bower, will soon learn to prefer "one native charm to all the gloss of art." To effect this change in what might be called the poetical features of the female mind—a change which seems to me productive of a salutary reform in the domestic economy of the Hindus—I should strongly insist upon the study of flowers, not indeed in a scientific method, but as objects of imitation on silk and carpet, and as constant companions of the hours of recreation. As to the books which our girls should be taught to read in the public schools, I have not much to say after the appearance of so many works of an elementary character; but the adoption of the experimental method above described will evidently necessitate the publication of easy treatises in the vernacular tongue on popular physics and chemistry.

Regarding the best practicable method of educating married girls, who cannot, by the customs of the country, step out of the zenana, there has been, and, I have no doubt, will yet be, a good deal of controversy. Opinions, which look upon the dark privacy of the zenana itself as a provision hardly too vigorous for female virtue and modesty, will undoubtedly scout the idea of public seminaries for married women as indecent and

almost profane. Neither shall that strong domestic feeling, which keeps the female face veiled from the sight of all who are not dearest to it, allow us to harbour for one single moment the thought of any male agency in the education of the wedded fair but that of the husband. But an instrument like this will be insufficient for the various purposes of female education as a *national* institution. Men who pass three-fourths of the waking hours of their existence in anxious cares and busy occupations, in a climate whose enervating influence deprives useful labour of half its exhilarating effects, will be teachers too irregular and fugitive for a systematic method of instruction. I think I am also right in stating that the scheme of sending European tutoresses from house to house will be a partial, if not an entire, failure. For, as has been elsewhere said by the Honorable President of this Association, a European tutoress is a luxury not within the reach of the great majority of our countrymen. But entertaining as I do the opinion that a system of education, which consults all the requirements of an essentially conservative social polity, will be necessarily expensive, and depend for its success upon the interference of Government as a taxing authority, and upon benefactions like those by which the lamented Mr. Gokuldass Tejpál of Bombay has surprised the philanthropic world, I do not think that the aristocratic character of the scheme of European tutoresses for Hindoo ladies *ought* to be considered so strong a ground of objection as the insufficiency of this provision for the demands of so large a population as that of Calcutta. A European tutoress must be a person who will make education her profession, and her professional character will prevent any single family from receiving the benefit of her instructions for more than an hour in the day. And although it is true that the influence of a virtuous European example is desirable in the formation of the Hindu female character, I yet am inclined to think that this influence will not be a sufficient compensation for the loss we shall suffer from the necessary absence of sympathy between a European governess and a Hindu girl.*

* This remark, of course, is made with an eye upon the present condition of the Hindu female mind. No sympathy can exist between minds that are governed by the most dissimilar traditions and usages, and the different tones of thought and feeling prevailing in English and Bengali society must be somewhat assimilated to each other, before the relation of master and student, in the properest sense of the words, can be profitably established between a European governess and a Hindu girl. This work of assimilation must be the work of a purely native tutorial agency, and it is with this view that I wish to exclude for some time any strong European element from my plan.—C. N. B.

The scheme, too, of what might, for the sake of brevity, be called a class of *itinerant* native tutoresses for zenana education, besides being surrounded by difficulties already pointed out in reference to a corresponding European agency, is open to other objections arising from the character and composition of Bengali society. Women of respectable Hindu families will not walk about from house to house, nor will they view education as a profession, the pecuniary emoluments of which are a sufficient motive for exertion. And it is also worthy of remark that the strong conservative feelings which still govern the Hindu home, and prudential considerations by no means extravagant or arbitrary, will exclude any other female instrumentality from the education of the zenana than that which is least exceptionable on the score of social honor and respectability.

Fully aware of the many difficulties which beset the question of female education in Bengal, it is with no uncommon deference for the judgment of the enlightened public that I submit what might be called the plan of *sectional family schools* for the married women of this country. For the purposes of this scheme I think it necessary that this city should be divided into a certain number of sections, each of which shall comprise 20 or 30 different families. Supposing each family to contain, on the average, three ladies who require further education than what they have already received in the public schools, the number of female pupils in each section will thus vary between 60 and 90—a number that may, without any inconvenience whatsoever, form two separate classes for the purposes of efficient teaching. The zenana of the most enlightened and respectable Native gentleman residing in any one of the educational sections, who enjoys amongst his neighbours a reputation for learning, honesty, and benevolence—and I have no doubt there are many such in every municipal division of the city—such a zenana, I say, will be the place where these female pupils should go, of course in proper conveyances, to receive instruction from such of the women of his family as shall have been already prepared, for the sake of his plan, to assume the task of tutoresses. A European female teacher for each of these sections will be, I think, temporarily necessary to keep up those experimental studies which, for the purpose of infusing a taste for useful knowledge, I have previously recommended for adoption in the public schools. And assuming that the plan will require only 20 or 25 educational sections in the early days of its career, an equal number of European tutoresses, as a provisional measure, will neither be an unavailable nor a

too expensive apparatus for an object so noble as the education of the Hindu female mind. This plan, which I have propounded with special reference to Calcutta, will be, I am sure, far less costly and much more practicable in the villages of Bengal, where neighbourly feeling—the main strength of the scheme I have developed—assumes a form and imparts a charm to social intercourse of which the inhabitants of the metropolis of British India, with their scientific modes of living and thinking, cannot form the slightest conception. To make female education productive of salutary results, the translation into the Bengali language of popular works on History, Natural Science (both organic and inorganic), Practical Morality, and Hygiene, will be a desideratum, which the growing development of the vernacular tongue, combined with the increasing study of Sanscrit literature in the Calcutta University, leads me to expect will, without any appreciable difficulty, be amply supplied.

A discussion of the various pecuniary resources which suggest themselves to my mind as available for the working out of the plan will be, I think, painfully long at this stage of the essay. I shall, therefore, satisfy myself with stating a single measure, not on account of its pecuniary importance, but for the sake of describing to my countrymen the moral aid which it will, it seems to me, afford to the support of the plan and the enlargement of what might be called its territorial prospects. An educational cess, of course very light in its incidence, whilst it would be wholly unobjectionable on the *laisser-faire* principle, and equitable as an appeal to family charity, would serve as an inducement with every individual to send the women of his family to the sectional schools. For, we need but recollect that man, whether dwelling on the banks of the Ganges, the Thames, or the Po, always tries to get the fullest benefit of the taxes he pays out of his hardly-earned income, in order to ascertain whether the poor Bengali will suffer his penny to be taken without his wife being taught. Some may say that this would be a sort of indirect compulsion on the part of Government in respect to the conduct and motives of individuals. Admitting this view of the question for the sake of argument, I am yet of opinion that an educational cess is fully justifiable, inasmuch as compulsion of some kind or other is at the root of that principle of interference, without which Government would be only a shadow, and sovereignty the chimera of a disordered brain.

Such is a rude outline of the plan which, I venture to think, will reconcile many of our social customs and opinions with the

existence of an efficient system of education for the married women of Bengal, and render our public girls' schools a machinery for the formation of a female society, which will itself possess an opinion upon the question of the education of their hitherto neglected faculties and insulted feelings. Such is the plan which, if carried out with masculine energy and benevolent zeal, will make the ladies of Bengal the "ministering angels" of our homes. Such the plan which will reform our domestic economy, and multiply the ties and sweeten the pleasures of our social intercourse.

Mr. J. B. Knight said that the paper which had been read was almost perfect in its description of the present state, and very interesting in its suggestions for the future improvement, of female Hindu society. He could not approve, however, of the scheme for class schools, which appeared to him to be a step in the wrong direction. There were numerous schools now in Calcutta and elsewhere, in which Hindu girls of every class were assembled. The second suggestion for the assembling of Hindu ladies coming from various households was in itself a great step forward, for it was a phase of social life which Bengali women had never yet enjoyed. He would like to see ladies of all classes meet freely and talk over their domestic affairs. Bengali ladies were remarkable for their eagerness and readiness to learn, and they were especially pleased to receive the casual visits of European ladies. He thought it was desirable that they should acquire an insight into the life of their English sisters; but to this end the visits must not be all on one side. The Hindu lady must also come out and visit her European friends.

Babu Monmohun Ghose thought that those who were leading in the cause of female education did not clearly see their way. He himself could not conceive the state of society which would result, owing to their ignorance of English society, when the educated Native man and woman were left together in the hours of repose. He thought that the present ideas of the male portion of the community must undergo considerable modification. They must mix much more freely with the English. Unfortunately they had but few opportunities, though he must admit there were some families who were desirous of mixing with and knowing more of the Natives. Until this was done, however, we might rest assured that no real progress would be made.

Dr. Farquhar wished to know whether the Bethune Female School was not meant for high caste Hindu girls alone, and he asked this question in order to ascertain the merits of the plan, propounded by the essayist, of providing different schools for the different castes.

Dr. Chuckerbutty pointed out that the system of class schools had already been tried at the Bethune School. There were three classes of schools, but the complaint was as loud as ever of the difficulty of obtaining pupils.

The lecturer replied that, whatever might have been the principle first adopted for the Bethune Female School, he was warranted by experience in saying that that principle had not been adhered to, and that, by allowing a highly promiscuous admission of girls, the Bethune Female School, as a

popular educational institution, had become a sad and complete failure. With reference to the view expressed by Mr. Knight, the lecturer spoke to the following effect: Social and intellectual progress in Bengal, he said, is yet a problem, of which a right, or, as it were better to say, a safe solution cannot be obtained, unless philosophic prudence, tempering the force of progressive enthusiasm, takes into account the many stereotyped customs and opinions which govern Bengali social life. It is impossible to force opinions upon a people, and it is something more than impossible to ensure the success of institutions, which prevailing opinions do not approve, and to which the spirit of older and more beloved institutions is either ungenerous or hostile. The best way of introducing progress into this country, is to combine progressive with conservative ideas—a combination which will infallibly lead to the triumph of the former, inasmuch as the natural tendency of the human mind is towards forward movement. Conservatism is yet too strong in this country to be safely omitted in the calculations of the progressive theorist, and it will, if not conciliated, either wage war against a purely progressive scheme, or, what is worse, look at it with an eye of indifference and contempt. We want progress, but that progress must not vanquish itself by shocking too rudely the dominant conservatism of the country; in other words, we want and we can have only a conservative progress. The plan of exclusive schools appears to satisfy the conditions of a conservative progress, and it seems to be therefore the only plan which can be considered as legitimate in the present circumstances of Bengali society. It will diffuse female education far more rapidly and widely than has yet been seen in this country, and that education will accomplish the far more radical work of destroying prejudices, a work which must *precede* the inauguration of a durable and purely progressive scheme of female education.

The Hon'ble Rajah Sheoraj Sing (of Nynee Tal) made some brief remarks in Urdu.

HEALTH.

1.—*A Sketch of subjects relating to the Public Health.*

By T. Farquhar, M. D.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

Gentlemen,

In addressing you on the subjects more immediately connected with the Sanitary Division of Social Science, to which I have the honor to belong, I propose briefly to sketch out a few of the questions of more prominent interest, which relate generally to the physical well-being of the people of India.

I enter on this, sensible of the existence of many and various theories being held on the subject of sanitation in the East, and fully aware of the ignorance that prevents our coming to definite conclusions on several important questions of the deepest daily interest to us. Nor is this to be wondered at, when we consider the necessity of vital statistics, and our want of them; so that each observer has had to form his conclusions on little more than his own personal observations. Of late years we have had valuable tables compiled annually by Dr. Bryden, Statistical Officer, giving figured statements in the fullest and clearest form, which show the sickness, death, and invaliding among European soldiers in India, as also similar tables regarding the health of Native troops and prisoners. A decade of these tables is just being completed, and from their arrangement and accuracy, afford us a completeness of information which we seek for in vain elsewhere. The lessons taught by them are invaluable, as by them several points, on which speculation was rife, have been clearly defined, and practical conclusions come to, from which much good may confidently be expected. It would be a matter of great importance, if similar statistics could be forthcoming for the masses of the people; but this it is unreasonable to expect at present. Useful information bearing on general sanitation may, however, be gathered even from these exceptionally situated classes—enough indeed to form a basis, on which to rest the rougher, and necessarily less accurate statistics that may be forthcoming from the civil community. The unfavorable conditions under which a British soldier, the native of a

temperate climate, serves in India, helps perhaps to develope the natural and extreme susceptibility of the European to the evil influences of insanitation. He suffers, in particular, more readily and to a greater extent than the people of the country, from marsh malaria, so that the lighter shades of unhealthiness, in any locality, are at once shown by his early sufferings.

Something of the same may be said of the men of the Native Army; for we find, that the soldiers born in one province and reared there in health and strength, suffer severely sometimes, when stationed in other provinces. Thus the Oude soldier is often very sickly in the Punjab, and the Punjabi suffers, even more than the European, in the lower provinces of Bengal. The reason for this it is hard to give in a single sentence. It may be that malarious poison is presented in a different character in one part of the country from what it is in another. The native impression of the *hawa pani* being different may be the correct one; for we see malarious fevers with peculiarities of type at different stations, and with a power in the poison of some and not in others, of remaining for years in the system and for long after removal from all malarious influences. We see again some men of a regiment, all from the same part of the country, suffering severely at one station and not at another. This is probably the effect of climatic causes, but it is open to the objection that other influences may be present that determine a susceptibility to disease.

In respect to prisoners; from their being usually gathered into jails from the surrounding districts, we should naturally estimate the condition of local sanitation from their diseases. They are, however, necessarily placed under exceptional circumstances, being subject to restraints, that fret and gall mind and body, thereby depressing the powers of life. This effect is most marked during the first year of confinement, when the mortality is excessive as compared with that of subsequent years. But while the information from this last class is rendered imperfect, we nevertheless see in them also the effect of local sanitary influences, in the far greater mortality among prisoners brought from distant provinces, as compared with that among prisoners from the neighbourhood of the jail. Their relation to epidemics, too, is peculiar. From their isolation, we frequently see jails escape epidemics, which are raging with great severity in the towns and villages in their vicinity, but when an epidemic

does find its way inside, the prisoners suffer heavily, principally from their being, like our European soldiers, confined together in large barrack rooms, where numbers are herded together, and cannot help being affected by the insanitation of the place or of individuals amongst them. The importance of such vital statistics as these for the good government and welfare of the people, is now fully acknowledged and understood, and with accurate information in regard to the three classes above noticed, as a foundation, we may confidently hope for some valuable information soon, as to the sanitary state and wants of the people.

Action has lately been taken by the Government of India in this matter. On the tenth of this month an Act was before the Legislative Council, authorising the establishment of municipal government in the larger cities and towns of the North-West Provinces. The Punjab entered on the same good work about a year ago, so that registration, and the introduction of sanitary measures for the cleansing of towns, the clearing of wells, &c., &c., are about to become the rule in India, as well as in the already civilized countries of the West. At the same time sanitary officers, selected for their special fitness, are being appointed to each local Government, having it as their sole duty to collect together all the information available on the sanitation of each province, and advise Government on the measures best suited for preserving the health of the people.

The latest and best statistics we have on the sanitary state of the people is contained in a census return of the North-West Provinces for 1865. From it we gather some remarkable facts, which make us wish for further information, and that of a still more reliable character. We learn first that the density of the population to the square mile, in this which is not the most thickly peopled portion of India, is second only to that of Belgium in Europe, being slightly superior in this respect to England, and far above all other European countries with perhaps the exception of Saxony. This alone is sufficient to establish it as a fact, that here the main conditions of life are of a very favorable character, and should make us pause before condemning all the institutions of India with a readiness which is so frequently combined with ignorance and indifference. It leads us also to enquire, under what circumstances the people exist in so flourishing a state, and examine with interest their mode of life, occupation, &c.

The first striking difference in reference to European States is the very important fact, that the land in India can yield two full crops, and sometimes a third during the twelve months—a state of things unknown in temperate climates. The supply of food is thus abundant for man and beast, so that the population is well fed. As a natural effect of this on all animal life, the population, under favorable political and social circumstances, must tend to increase. The very large proportion also of the people following agricultural pursuits in India gives to the masses a chance of life, in this the most healthy of employments, which is denied to the populations of European countries.

The population of the North-West Provinces is said by the last census to have decreased by about 100,000 during the past 12 years; this is not a very large number out of a population of 30,000,000, being about ½ per cent. The deficit is but too readily accounted for by the three terrible scourges of civil war, famine, and pestilence, that have passed over the land since the last census. The loss by the famine of 1860-61 alone cannot be estimated at less than 800,000; but besides this the loss of cattle, and other means of cultivating the soil, took from the people the means of producing food in the usual proportions. Taking the two other causes of waste of life into consideration, we cannot but marvel at the prosperity of a country that can so quickly make up for such a terrible deficit. Had these calamities, which may be said to have carried off at least two millions, not visited this portion of the country, there would evidently have been an enormous increase of population, for we should not only have had a large proportion of the casualties and their descendants still amongst us, fully equal to a million in numbers, but in addition, the other million that has been required to bring the population up so close to its former standard.

For the mitigation or prevention of these calamities above alluded to, we must look to good government, the extension of irrigation, and general sanitation. For the first, the only thing that Social Science can do is to help in preserving a *mens sana in corpore sano* in our rulers and people. In regard to irrigation, the sanitary officer has a great deal to say when the water supply is insufficient to raise good crops or a sufficient amount of food for the people, a peculiar kind of fever styled "Famine" fever, of a very deadly form and contagious, springs up, destroying more life by a great deal than hunger does. This is of all dis-

eases the most difficult to deal with, as the half-starved people are not in a position or able to attend to requisite arrangements for the cleanliness of the community, or even sometimes the interring of the dead.

It is again a wasteful flooding of the fields by canals or a super-abundance of rain falling on the almost level plains of India at one season of the year, that gives rise to those malarious disorders which affect so severely the health of the people. Where again the rainfall is moderate, there is scarcely any fever or other malarious sickness.

This leads us to observe the effect on the sanitation of the people of the different modes of irrigation, by which the rainfall is supplemented, and by which the spring crops especially are made to yield an abundant harvest.

It has been proved by Dr. Dempster's spleen test, that irrigation from wells is the least deleterious to health; and is no doubt accounted for by the fact that the labour required to raise the water so far, is a sufficient hindrance in most places to over-flooding of the fields. The people living in districts thus watered, are found especially in Northern India to be healthy, vigorous, and strong. The same cannot always be said of the inhabitants of lands watered by canals; especially is this the case with such canals as the Eastern Jumna which is built up along the bed of a nullah, occupying the line of drainage of the surrounding country. The water which is distributed from this canal to the fields by raised channels, trickles gently back, forming large jheels by the side of the canal, and yielding abundant malaria. The effect of this on the population is very marked after a few years. A peculiarly haggard expression, called sometimes the spleen face, is frequently observed. There is also feebleness of gait, a stoop, and a listless indifference to business or pleasure, that is marked when the sufferers are contrasted with a healthy population of the same race.

The severest instance of this malarious poisoning that I have met with, was in the district of Allyghur. There an escapement of the Ganges Canal was opened at intervals into a nullah too small to receive the quantity of water poured into it. The consequence was that for nine miles down (at which point the nullah became large enough) the country was alternately flooded and dry for a mile or two on either side. The smaller villages in this

tract were depopulated from the death or flight of the people and the bones of the dead lay unburied and scattered about the fields. In the larger villages the centre houses were still standing and occupied, being evidently protected by the outer ranges of houses, which were emptied of their inhabitants.

Even in the case of the great Ganges Canal, which has been wisely carried along the water-shed of the country, marshy collections of water are apt here and there to occur from some peculiarity of the soil or oversight of the officers in charge. Breakage of bunds also occurs, causing inundations of the country, which carry disease and death into the homes of the people.

In the projection of all works of irrigation, therefore, sanitation, as well as the full supply of water, must be attended to; and after their completion, drainage must be provided for, to prevent the generation of marsh poison and deterioration of the races subject to its influence.

It is owing to an admirable system of such drainage that the deadly swamps of Algeria are now waving fields of cultivation, and the soldiers and colonists there are about as healthy as the army and population of France. This effect has been produced at an enormous sacrifice of treasure, and a still heavier loss of thousands upon thousands of French soldiers and colonists, some of whom were lost before the cause of the sickness was discovered, or died in the opening out of the drainage works. It has been asked if the same could not be done for India, and if it could not be made as free of marsh poison as Algeria. The answer to this is—first, that Algeria is about equal in size to the Punjab, one only of the many provinces of India; secondly, that it is sufficiently undulating and hilly to allow of perfect drainage at all seasons of the year; and thirdly, it is not like India subject to an autumnal monsoon, that fills all the rivers to overflowing, and for nearly three months of the year makes the whole country for about a thousand miles round one immense swamp.

There are many places, however, in India that admit of drainage even in the rains; and we see enough of local malaria to warrant its being said that a feverish locality could often be vastly improved by subsoil as well as surface drainage. When the expense forbids this being done, the raising the dwelling house high above the ground, as is done in the new double-storied

European barracks, Arracan, Burmah, &c., gives considerable immunity from malarious poisoning. If more of our tea planter friends in Assam would but try amongst other things ordinary drainage of the jheels near their coolies' houses, and raise their huts several feet above the ground, there would be less said about the death rate and desertion of their labourers, the expense of keeping up gardens, and the ruin of many promising concerns. Comparing great things with small, they would do for Assam what the Dalhousie Barrack has done for Fort William, *viz.*, convert the station from almost a charnel house into one of the healthiest in India.

The dwellings of the people form another interesting subject of sanitary observation. We see the greater part of them living in village communities of smaller or greater size, only a comparatively small proportion being found in cities, and none except in very rare instances occupying detached houses. In these particulars they differ much from the English people, half of whom are found in cities, and most of the rest live in houses scattered over the fields. The general impression is, that the village mode of living has been forced upon the people, as a measure of protection against the violence of local Governments, the rival interests of neighbours, robbers, and wild beasts. This, under a succession of weak governments, may have had a large share in influencing the formation of the village system; but there are palpable reasons of sanitary convenience for this, that at once suggest themselves on a little acquaintance with the habits of the people. The community thus gathered together is very complete in itself, containing, as it usually does, the different artizans and tradesmen, also the various castes required to fill the various offices, and discharge all necessary duties with as little jar and opposition as possible. The people have by this arrangement no distance to go for the supply of almost every want of the labouring classes, and thus avoid exposure to great heat or heavy rains, which are the two trying conditions of life in India. Indeed in some parts of the country, it would be at times impossible to get at the different artizans, if they lived some miles off, for often the water in the streams and over the country makes movement far out of the village a work of danger.

But in a more directly sanitary point of view, the raised village site, either natural or artificial, is of the utmost importance to the health of the community, in elevating them above

damp, and somewhat above the thickest stratum of marsh malaria. The aggregation of the houses, too, makes it much more comfortable for the people during the furnace heat of the hot winds, and gives shelter and shade in moving from one house to another. Besides all this, there is great protection in the system of grouping houses in villages from the greatest source of sickness in India, *viz.*, marsh malaria. We see many examples of the effect of this mode of building in the exemption of the people in towns, especially walled towns, from malarious fever, while the inhabitants of open lines of houses in the neighbourhood are prostrated from this cause. We also see cities in marshy plains, which in their infancy had a bad name for malignant forms of fever, getting rid of both and enjoying a fair reputation in this respect. Our City of Palaces is no mean instance of this, and if our neighbours at Port Canning could contrive to build and stock a number of native huts, at the same time draining and planting the side nearest the great marsh, the place would soon become habitable enough for European settlers also.

The idea then of doing away with the village system, entertained by some English sanitary enthusiasts, and scattering the houses over the fields, as in Europe, would be destructive to the health of the people in India. What is required is more regularity in the construction of villages with free access to all parts of it for sanitary measures; cleanliness outside and inside the villages, with more shelter from trees in their immediate vicinity; also the wealth or energy to build better houses, which peace and good government, it is to be hoped, will give the means and opportunity of doing.

The cleansing of these villages and towns is very important, and to English minds very easy. We are told to construct good drains and flush them well with plenty of water. Now any one who knows India understands the uselessness of proposing such a means of sanitation in the plains of India. How few villages are there that would not be ruined by the expense of such *pucka* works, and when the drains are completed, where is the water to come from for their use? Why, in the present state of the greater part of India, it is all the people can do by drawing water from wells, to keep themselves, their cattle, and crops from perishing of drought during nine months of the year. In a hot climate like India, too, where in most places brick-work near

the surface of the ground corrodes so readily, drains must often give way at weak points, and if this happens near the water supply, we know how mischievous the result must be. As you are all aware, this system of drainage is being tried here, and the expense has greatly crippled the resources of even this rich municipality. Calcutta, however, needs drainage more perhaps than any other of the great cities of India. Being comparatively a new city, there are no remains of ancient buildings on which to raise the houses a few feet above the level of the great salt marsh, on part of which it is built. The Hooghly, on the east of which it is, gives little help in draining it, for the ground slopes gradually from the river bank. The artificial fall of a few feet, which has been provided for the new drainage works, will, therefore be a great boon by securing a flow of water through them. The quarter of Calcutta now being thus "thorough drained," must by this means be vastly improved. The dampness of the ground will be very much lessened, and it may there become safe for Europeans to live on the ground floor of their houses without much risk to their health. But if it is attempted to use these drains as cesspools for other purposes, the best and highest rooms in Calcutta will at once be brought in contact with a concentrated atmosphere of foul air, tainted probably, at most seasons of the year, with cholera and fever poisons.

While labour is still cheap, the villages and Calcutta can be cleansed, as some of the principal towns in the mofussil are, by manual labor and bullock carts. The Pneumatic system of Krepp, which on paper looks by far the best plan of cleansing a town, may be introduced into Calcutta, when it is rich enough to indulge in the luxury, and has skill to produce and keep in repair the machinery required. Till then, it can multiply carts and coolies to cleanse the drains, and use its tidal river on the one side, and tramway on the other, to carry off its sewage, and land it at places where it can do the least harm, or as manure produce some good.

While however we Justices are fighting in Calcutta about personal matters, we are neglecting the means of sanitation at our immediate disposal, and allowing our fellow-citizens and ourselves to run the risk of being slowly poisoned. What other term can express the effect of daily eating butcher's meat and vegetables, that have lain exposed for sale for hours perhaps on small boards laid across the foulest of cesspool-looking open drains?

One would hardly credit this fact unless from painful observation; and few can care to think of the impurities and poison that must certainly be eaten, and would prove more frequently deleterious and destructive to us, but for the sanitary process of cooking.

A moral death is also going on in our midst, the indirect effect of bad drainage. One striking example of this is the lapsing of a large Christian population, in a back slum of this city, into the grossest idolatry. Men, and principally women, may at this season be seen, especially on Sunday afternoon, covered with hooly powder, the emblem of uncleanness, and reeling about in a state of intoxication, or quietly gambling in the streets or kintals. The filth of the drains surrounding their houses is so sickening, and dangerous to those unaccustomed to them, that some ladies, who wish to try and help these women, are not allowed to visit them, and the evil goes on from bad to worse. I know how anxious our authorities are to remedy these evils, but we can all see that they need more of our sympathy, and co-operation, and unity of action, if they are successfully to grapple with the monstrous filth of this great city.

Epidemic Diseases form another most important subject of consideration for the Health Section of the Social Science Association. The principal forms of these are Small-Pox, Fevers, and Cholera, which annually destroy large numbers of the community. For the first, we have vaccination and inoculation as means for mitigating its ravages. The latter has been practised more or less successfully in the East for hundreds of years, but with these drawbacks, that it is sometimes followed by fatal consequences, and has been observed to favor the development of severe epidemics. Vaccination is a later importation, and has not as yet been accepted as a prophylactic by the people, except in particular districts, where it has been energetically, and successfully, practised by Government Officials. It would be well if its effects could be more widely certified to, by showing its results, wherever it is used among the people. It would be well, too, if certain social and political suspicions which hinder its adoption were removed, the force and meaning of which can hardly be understood out of India. For instance, when the other day it was proposed to the 2,000 coolies starting for Abyssinia, where small-pox is prevalent, that they should be vaccinated, they ran off in a body, saying they would cast themselves under the protection of the Viceroy to save them from being operated on.

It is different with epidemics of fever; for the non-malarious forms no prophylactic is yet known, but the medical treatment has of late greatly improved. The latest and one of the most remarkable out-breaks I know of was shown by Dr. Bryden to have come up in October last, at the same time as a great storm of wind and rain, from the South-East of Bengal, and decreased in severity as it advanced upwards to Oude and the Central Provinces. The prisoners shut up in the jails at night escaped in a marked manner, while soldiers in their open barracks, and the people generally, suffered severely. Other fevers of a typhoid type, over which quinine has no specific power, and which appear to have no connection with marsh poison, have of late years spread far and wide over large portions of the land, and have caused severe loss, especially in Bengal. The first I saw of these was on the North-West Frontier, where, in a corner of the Peshawur Valley, the epidemic carried off 8,000 souls out of a population of about 45,000, a loss almost unparalleled in modern times. I mention it to notice what a knowledge of sanitation among the people could have done to prevent this terrible mortality. The history of their behaviour was briefly as follows: The sick man was brought out of the women's apartments immediately it was found that he had got the fever, and laid on a bed in a small entrance room, which was usually about 12 feet by 6 in size. There was no window, and only one door open, while the room was crowded with as many of his male friends as could find room to sit or stand; several sat on the sick man's bed; all remained for hours in the room smoking and talking and went out to sicken and die. Few women suffered, for they were not allowed to be near the sick man. Few Hindus also had the fever, for they too were forbidden to come near the bed of the sick Mahomedan. A little care, a little less crowding and exposure to contagion would have saved many lives that were lost, and those too of the strongest of the bread-winning class.

It may be that one, if not two, of the bad fevers now habitually met with in many parts of India, are importations from Europe, consequent on the immense increase of commerce and intercourse. I cannot help thinking that the spotted typhoid is one of these, for it is only of late years that I have seen undoubted cases of this deadly form of disease in India. We know from Grant, the great Nile discoverer, that the diseases of Europe, as small-pox, &c., have not yet penetrated the depths of Central Africa, and the new settlement of Victoria has much the same

story to tell in Australia. There can be nothing to prevent small-pox and contagious fevers occurring in these climates or among those races, for similar races and latitudes suffer. They have evidently escaped on account of their communications with affected countries being as yet limited; but when commercial and other forms of intercourse increase, we may expect to see these people suffering also.

I need not weary you with my opinions on cholera as an epidemic, for most of you have got your own private notions on the subject, founded on what you think sufficient information. I can hardly, however, pass the subject over, particularly as I desire to draw your attention to facts about the disease in Calcutta, where it has been for many years endemic, though seldom passing into an epidemic form. We see it year by year commencing to be severe about the end of the cold weather and continuing very bad till the rains begin, after which comparatively few cases occur. There is also a general observation that when the water is low in any particular tank, then cholera is active in the neighbourhood. The last severe local outbreak you had of the disease was amongst the people near, and the coolies employed in excavating, a tank. We also see the ships in the river when lying at particular places near the outlet of sewers suffering from attacks. All these and a number of other instances point to the water as one of the channels at least by which cholera is communicated. It becomes, therefore, on this supposition a matter of the first importance, that the new water works should be hurried on, and the tanks done away with, or kept filled with a plentiful supply of wholesome water.

It is useless to talk much of contagion in Calcutta, where, as the term is understood, it is rarely believed in, and it is seldom possible to trace cases of the disease to such an origin. I cannot, however, help referring to the late outbreak at Hurdwar, the history of which was as follows: The most elaborate and extensive sanitary arrangements were made on the spot beforehand, and on the latest and most approved English plans, to prevent an outbreak of the disease. Never were such measures carried out with more energy and good will. Yet a day or two before the host left Hurdwar, suddenly cholera appeared among the pilgrims. Every portion of the camp seems to have been infected. We must, therefore, look for some general cause by which a million and a half of men spread over many miles of an encampment were subjected simultaneously to the influence of the

cholera poison. One possible cause was a heavy fall of rain on the great bathing day, which, according to some analogous observations, may have descended, holding the cholera poison in solution, or, according to others, have been eliminated from the infected ground, and washed it into the river, where the people bathed. This is rendered the more probable explanation from the fact that a camp far up the river escaped entirely. Some such theory is necessary to account for the sudden outbreak of the disease, and we are forced by the subsequent history of this and many similar epidemics to acknowledge that the pilgrims disseminated the disease along the roads, and carried it with them to their homes hundreds of miles away. This could only occur by the disease remaining latent for some time in the system before being fully developed, or occurring as diarrhœa only, while suffering from which the sick often readily enough travel and prove fresh focuses of contagion.

Whatever the channels are by which the cholera poison passes, it is no use trying to persuade people through parliamentary blue books or otherwise that cholera comes out mysteriously from a basket of rubbish, and that there is no special *germ*, as it is called, which develops cholera in the system. Rather let us acknowledge that the means by which the poison travels, and the conditions under which it is developed in an epidemic form, are not as yet sufficiently known to us but demand our unbiased and with our investigations.

The sanitary officer of Her Majesty's Army in England has written strongly condemning quarantine, because it proved unsuccessful at Gibraltar and Malta, and because it did not agree with his theory of the spontaneous outbreak of cholera. His arguments are inconclusive, however, as it is clear that the disease in a milder form had plenty of time and opportunity to have entered these places weeks before quarantine was thought of. Rather let us oppose quarantine between places having large commercial or other intercourse, on the ground that the channels through which cholera passes are not as yet all known, and because it is so subtle and may remain dormant so long, that it is impossible always to say with certainty where it is not.

There are several other matters of the deepest importance, that I should like to bring before this Association, but time will not admit of more than one or two of these at present.

The food of the people is one of those important subjects, and with it agriculture, inasmuch as any improvements possible in the preparation of food, or in the means of cultivating the land, so as to perfect the grain, or increase its quantity, have often a very important relation to health and population. We see some diseases, as that pointed out by Dr. Irving, occurring as a direct consequence of eating particular grains, and from all I can learn, we owe leprosy, not to the eating of any one unwholesome food, but to living on poor uncultivated grains. But a remarkable fact in connection with the food of the people is the comparatively large quantity eaten by the natives of India, especially of carbonaceous food. The fact of the inhabitants of Bengal living largely and almost exclusively on rice, the chemical composition of which is so closely allied to the staple food of the Esquimaux, has been the strongest argument used against Leibeg's theory of food. To my mind this is a most powerful argument in its favor, for unless they consumed a large quantity of carbon, they could not stand the terrible waste which the steamy heat of the country demands of their system. The fondness for oil displayed by the Native, and his habit of anointing himself with it, is all part of the same necessity of nature, particularly as their bodies are usually exposed nearly naked to the fierce heat of a tropical sun. The way in which they combine their food, when they daily eat rice and dhal, shows how nature points out practically to them the chemical characteristics of food, as clearly as to the European who eats his potatoes and beef.

The questions of the geological distribution of disease, and the relation that rocks, soil, and elevation bear to them, are subjects still almost in their infancy in India. They are not, however, likely to remain so long, for as soon as the Geological Survey is complete, it will not be difficult, from the medical records, to show confidently the relation between the two. In the vast plains of alluvial deposits along the course of the great rivers, we have malarious fevers as endemic diseases; and in the alluvial country lying between the mouths of the Ganges, cholera has also established itself as an endemic disease. Where, however, the primary rocks crop up to the surface, this scourge seems to be still merely epidemic, though of frequent occurrence, telling of some cholera-favoring circumstances in the one situation not present in the other. In the black soil of

Central India, the result of the disintegration of secondary rocks, we have another of those soils, reeking with marsh malaria. Indeed this is the disease of all India, but it is comparatively little manifested in some soils, when the rainfall is scanty and artificial irrigation not excessive. It is a great fact, too, that the great kunkur beds which spread (a foot or two beneath the surface) along so large a portion of Upper India act as a powerful aid in developing malaria by retaining near the surface of the ground the water of the rains and irrigation. The healthiest spots are those cultivated tracts on a sandy soil, through which water readily percolates and finds its road away from the surface.

Another characteristic complaint, common to large tracts on the borders of rivers and very frequently met with along the foot of the great frontier range of the Punjab, is a form of scurvy, which has often been mistaken for sea scurvy, but is dependent on a totally different cause. It is the result of malarious poisoning, and is frequently accompanied by the most alarming form of dysentery. For the cure of this scurvy fresh vegetables have been freely used, and with benefit, for good food and plenty of it is the most powerful preventive of all blood diseases. We see this scurvy, however, appearing where fresh fruits and vegetables are abundant and cheap, and find that change of air to a different or less malarious locality is the only certain means of removing all signs of the complaint. Time and space will not permit of my enlarging on many other complaints peculiar to provinces, as the elephantiasis of Bengal, the boils of Scinde, the diarrhœa of the hills, the diabetes of certain tracts of country, &c., &c., but I mention these to show what a field we have for the exercise of sanitation and the recording of information on such strange phenomena of disease.

The effect of melas and pilgrimages on the health of the people is another most interesting subject of public interest. These are usually religious festivals, and as such are greatly esteemed by the millions of India. Many of the devotees who resort to them are old and some even infirm, but trusting in their vaunted efficacy for present and eternal good, few will be detained at home by considerations of life and death. Indeed some go seeking for death, and thousands annually find it through privations on the road, or epidemic diseases to which their distress

makes them peculiarly liable. These melas are also great commercial marts at which the more rare and industrial products of the country find a ready sale. Two leading requirements of the people are thus supplied, which account for the crowds that continually resort to these places. Looking, however, at these melas from a sanitary point of view, we cannot but see the disastrous effects that so frequently follow them in the out-bursts of epidemic diseases among the people at the place of pilgrimage. But it is not usually there that the severest effect is seen, for it has been observed for years that the pilgrims returning from Juggernath, Gya, &c., where cholera is endemic, die in great numbers on the road, of this and other diseases, and carry various forms of sickness and death into the villages on their routes, and ultimately to their homes. The poverty of the great majority of the pilgrims no doubt tends to increase their susceptibility to epidemic influences, and accounts for the fearful mortality frequently witnessed among them. The railways, good roads, and the protection afforded by good government, have materially lessened the difficulties of these pilgrimages in India—difficulties well known to the Mecca travellers. Further assistance is, however, still needed in the shape of serais or temporary shelter at intervals on the road. At the festival times the ordinary roadside accommodation is insufficient for the crowds which then pass along, and many have to lie on the ground during the rains, or to pass the day in the sun during the hottest time of the year. If this shelter were provided, even if topes of trees were planted at intervals of a day's march along the road for two or three hundred miles, there would be no necessity for the pilgrims to enter and infect the villages, especially as the inducements of trade or the Civil authorities would attend to the supply of the encamping ground with food and water. There, too, the sick could be cared for, and the poor not left to die miserably of disease and hunger by the way side. At the place of pilgrimage itself, it would be necessary also to have good arrangements made for the reception of pilgrims. The lodging-houses should be placed under sanitary inspection, and where there is no room for all the pilgrims in the neighbouring towns or villages, temporary huts should be raised in regular order and ready to be moved elsewhere should epidemic disease appear in any of them. For part, at least, of the expense incurred in this last arrangement, the religious communities which fatten on these pilgrims' offerings would be bound to pay; and for the road arrangements a pilgrim-tax might somehow be

levied by which the expenses of accommodation on the road could be covered.

In the social relations of the people we have many questions that are deeply interesting, but for the solution of which we have not at present the necessary statistics. It is hopeless, too, to expect to have information on very many of them, while the masses remain uneducated and cling to ignorant superstitions, exhibiting a suspicious reluctance to answer enquiries regarding them. The census of the North-West Provinces, however, tells us one remarkable fact, viz., that the death-rate among the women of India, a large portion of whom are shut up in zenanas, is lower than that of the men whose liberty is not interfered with. This is what few would credit who are brought up to believe that, without outdoor exercise, it is impossible to live. We may indeed find that some evil influence is at work among the male portion of the population, that accounts for a greater mortality than should occur in this class. Indeed there is an exceptional loss of young adult men especially noticed in Burmah, which has not yet been satisfactorily accounted for. We have not certainly the bachelor-dom of Scotland to fall back on, which has lately been shown to be so destructive of life, for all men are married early in life in India. In whatever way, however, the phenomenon is to be accounted for, it stands to the experience of the rest of the world that a want of physical strength must be the inheritance of the offspring of mothers so treated. The question, therefore, of its necessity or expediency must sooner or later come to be considered by an educated and enlightened people.

The question of early marriages is one peculiarly interesting to India, for in this custom the people are at variance with almost the whole of the rest of the world. The universality of marriage must, no doubt, help materially to keep up population to a high figure. The latest statistical information we have, shows, however, that in a temperate climate, early marriages are a mistake as far as the safety of the mother is concerned, and it is a common observation in India that large families of living children are rarer there than elsewhere. Statistics then on the prudence of what would in other countries be considered the marriages of children, might show them to be a grand mistake in India, as they are believed to be by the people of other lands.

I would conclude this address with calling the attention of this Association to the large class of Hakeems and Baeds scattered over the land. The census of the North-Western Provinces alone shows them to number in that province 7,000 persons, and how many thousands there are in the rest of the country it is impossible to say. To this class of men it is that we ought to look in India, as in all other civilized countries, for assistance in matters connected with the public health. They are even now, as a class, most intelligent, and want only a little assistance to render them most useful in the sanitary measures which the Government desires to carry out. How is it then that their services are so little, if at all, available, for the high objects Government has at heart in relieving distress and preventing sickness by sanitary measures? The principal cause is that they are satisfied with the medical lore handed down by the ancient Arabic, Greek, and Hindu fathers of medicine, who, centuries ago, studied disease with great accuracy according to the means in their power at that time. The researches of later years have, however, shown many of their theories to be false, and with this progress many of the names of diseases have necessarily been altered. In Europe, America, and elsewhere these names have been assimilated, so that the causes of sickness and death in each country can readily be compared, and thereby often removed. It would therefore be a matter of the greatest importance, were the means afforded the Hakeems and Baeds of India of becoming acquainted with the modern descriptions and nomenclature of disease, that the returns of sickness and death among the people might become of use to the community. At present we are told in the census of the North-Western Provinces, of witchcraft, devils, mud-eating, &c., as carrying off two or three thousands of the people annually, with many other names of disease which no other nation can understand or have the patience to listen to. This would, doubtless, be remedied shortly, if the Hakeems and Baeds could be got to form themselves into guilds, as medical men have done in so many other countries. Instead of each man fancying that he knows the very best that can be known of the science of medicine, he would, in associating himself with his fellows, find out the littleness of his own knowledge, and his great need of a fellow-labourer's help. A medical literature would in time spring up, and through the facilities of printing be rapidly diffused, and no doubt the rest of the world would have cause to rejoice, that the genius and resources of Indian medicine were added to the store of its

knowledge of disease and the means of relieving the sufferings of mankind.

After some remarks by BABOO PEARY CHAND MITTRA,

DR. CHEVERS wished to say that he believed Dr. Bryden's statistics were all that Dr. Farquhar had said. but he hoped it was not to be understood for a moment that the statistics of the army in former times were less reliable than these.

DR. FARQUHAR stated in reply that he was far from saying anything against the former statistics, but from not having seen them in any detailed form, he could not speak of them so enthusiastically. He rejoiced to think of the diminished mortality of the European army in India, but he felt that a great part of that diminution depended on the extensive invaliding home for change of air that was now so freely adopted. He added that in case of war occurring, and this measure being stopped, we should probably find that insanitation still existed, and therefore we should not relax our efforts to discover and remedy existing defects in our sanitary system.

ECONOMY AND TRADE.

1.—*Social and Industrial Economy in India. By* JAMES WILSON, ESQ.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

Under all conditions of life man is an acquisitive being. Though the objects of his desire may differ according to his position, the tendency to acquire and accumulate is almost universal. The savage may covet as eagerly a link of glass beads as a courtier may desire the more costly diamond, yet the motive in both cases be the same, though less intelligently guided in one case than the other. The manifestations of this desire of possession may be greatly varied, while the principle is much the same in all cases. And though this principle is said to be the root of all evil, such a denunciation must be greatly modified when we consider that it is the basis of progressive civilisation, and consequently the root of much good as well as of evil. It is only when the desire of possession becomes morbid that it is immoral. In such cases, wealth is often sought as a means of gratifying other desires than the mere possession of property. It is followed as a secondary object in itself, though as a means of attaining other objects perhaps in themselves immoral. If the only aim of man's existence were the bare supply of the necessaries of life, he would never arrive at a stage of civilisation beyond that of the merest savage. But to counteract this principle of stagnation in a low existence, the desire of possession seems to have been implanted in man to urge him on to the employment of other and higher faculties with which he has been endowed. Society only becomes possible, as we understand it, by distinctions which arise mainly from the possession of property. And though it would be interesting to pursue this subject fully, I propose confining myself to such a view of the question as may more immediately affect the condition of the humbler grades of society, who are and must be the great mass of the people in all countries.

Whatever order of civilisation may obtain in any country, the mass of the people must necessarily be dependent upon their labour for their sustenance. But we can never expect them to labour like cattle for food alone. The workers of all classes in all countries try to save a little for a rainy day, and I wish to

consider briefly what is done or may be done in this country in the matter of social economy amongst the industrial orders, so far as relates to the possession and employment of the savings from their wages.

In considering this question, we naturally look for such means of saving and investment as we are accustomed to find in our own land. These are of various kinds, as Savings Banks, Friendly Societies, Money Clubs, Freehold Land Societies, Building Associations. We look in vain for these institutions in India, though it would be erroneous to conclude, therefore, that there are no savings in India, and no accumulations amongst the people. They save here as elsewhere, though they have never attained to such a position as to establish and carry on such institutions as those just named. It will be noticed that nearly all of these are of a reproductive character, and perfectly safe as investments for the savings of the people. Taking the first-named, they are supported largely by the class of people employed as domestic servants, who save yearly something out of their wages to set themselves up in business, or to begin house-keeping when they are in a position to enter upon such responsibilities. Savings Banks are also largely used by married people who contrive to place a little store there as provision for sickness or old age, or as a fund for their children. Depositors in these banks receive interest for their money, which is invested in Government Securities. Friendly Societies differ from these in their objects. They are not for saving money, but for mutual assistance to the members and their families in cases of sickness or death. Money Clubs differ from both these. The Savings Banks receive irregular sums at any period. Money Clubs only receive fixed sums at stated periods, and are terminable after so many payments. The money is lent out at greater interest than is obtained from the Savings Banks, though there is greater risk attending this mode of investment, unless great care is exercised in the management. It is only right, however, to state that these clubs are in the hands of the lower middle class rather than amongst the working-people as that term is ordinarily understood. Freehold Land Societies have become of late years a favourite mode of investment amongst working men. The movement was a political one in its origin, though it has had a social influence well worthy of special consideration. The principle is for a number of men to club together and buy a piece of land at wholesale price, which they allot in small plots among themselves, and pay for by periodical instalments, the land always remaining as security until the purchase money is paid. Akin to these are

the Building Societies, which are another favourite mode of investment for the higher order of working men, and the lower middle classes of society. These associations will lend out money to men who wish to build. A plot of land is some security, and a loan may be granted on that, to be increased as a building progresses, until the house is complete. The owner, instead of paying rent to a landlord, makes certain payments to the Building Association in gradual liquidation of the loan, and in a few years he becomes the owner of a house built on his own land, in a position of comparative independence.

These are all in their way admirable institutions, They raise up a class of independent men who are a credit to any country, and whom it would be well to increase. They are a class of men who are rarely criminal, never paupers, and whose position is the best possible proof of their loyalty as subjects and their intelligence and usefulness as citizens. I am led to enquire what there is in India corresponding with these. The answer, it is to be feared, would show little indeed. It may be that we Englishmen are not sufficiently acquainted with the social economies of Hindoo life to know what is doing. If so, it is to be hoped that this inquiry may elicit information. Should it be otherwise, as we suspect it is, there are some facts which the well-wishers of their country will do well to lay to heart.

There is a Savings Bank in India; but whether it receives the support that might be anticipated, remains to be shown. There may be Friendly Societies, though we have inquired in vain for them. The Money Club does not exist, and has but a poor substitute in the usurer and extortionate mahajun, who grind rather than assist the poor, and extrication from whose toils is all but impossible. The free-hold land movement has not yet reached India, although the possession of land is one of the objects most dearly cherished by the Hindus. The Building Club has yet found no place; and these economic projects have taken no root amongst a people remarkable for the economy of their social life.

If we search for a cause of such a state of things, it will not be difficult to find. The institutions we have named are essentially the offspring of freedom—a freedom based on just laws, that beget confidence, that render co-operation possible, and property secure. Such a state of things never yet existed in India. The reverse has been the case for centuries previous to the advent of the British Government. In former times the Government has been one of violence and spoliation. The weak were oppressed

and robbed by the strong, and to possess property was to invite attack and ensure plunder. Hence safety was sought in apparent poverty; and the property which it is natural for man to accumulate was hidden in the earth. It was never safe to give it a form of existence visible to the outer world. Money was buried, or invested in jewels, which would put wealth into small compass more favourable to concealment. Thus habits of caution and secretiveness grew upon the people, and a hundred years of security have failed to remove these habits, or to give that confidence which would render possible those institutions that have grown under the security and the freedom of England.

I am not in possession of the latest statistics of the various institutions to which I have referred, but it may afford some ground of comparison between the two countries to take the Savings Banks which exist in both. Of course the institution is much more recent in India than in England, and has not so far won the confidence of the people as in the latter country; and, moreover, the facilities in India for depositing savings are not nearly so great as in England. In England Savings Banks are an old institution, and bear no character of experiment or speculation, as they may appear to have, to the people of this country. I am not aware what is the total sum deposited in these banks. But a few years ago, in consequence of mismanagement in some few of them, and to increase facilities to depositors, as well as to give confidence in the institutions by placing them in more immediate contact with Government, Mr. Gladstone established the Post Office Savings Banks. These were not to supersede the old institutions, but to give the public the choice of a Government bank or a private one, and by the extensive ramification of the Postal service to place a safe means of deposit within the reach of parties in districts remote from regular banks. The success of the experiment has exceeded expectation, and the amount deposited in these Post Office Savings Banks at the date of the last return is about £37,000,000 sterling. This is in addition to the sums remaining in the old banks, many of the depositors in which still keep their savings there. Mr. Gladstone's project doubtless broke new ground, and there are probably not less than 50 or 60 millions thus placed at interest by the lower classes of the English people. This would give from 2 to 3 pounds sterling per head of the population. Of course the actual depositors are much less numerous. In the Post Office Savings Banks the average amount is £37 to each depositor in England; in Scotland the average is £18-5-0 per head; and in Ireland only £6-5-0. The Scotch are always considered

a thrifty people, and though their average deposits are below those of England, it may be accounted for by the greater facilities for depositing small sums afforded by the regular banks of Scotland. In Ireland there are many causes for the low average, not the least being, that of the thrifty classes who are the chief depositors in Savings Banks, many have emigrated to other lands.

It may be useful to give corresponding statistics of the Savings Bank in Bengal. The total amount deposited is Rs. 14,70,415 by 9,112 depositors, which gives an average of Rs. 161-5 to each depositor, or, reckoning the population of Bengal at forty millions, a fraction over 7 pies per head. But, as I wish to show how little the people of this country avail themselves of the Savings Bank, it will be needful to analyse the depositors, and we find that of the 9,000 depositors, 4,000 of them are Europeans, mostly in towns; while the other 5,000 consist of natives, 3,900 being town, and 1,200 mofussil depositors. Of the amount thus placed, 8¼ lakhs belong to Europeans and 6½ lakhs to natives. This will give an average of Rs. 206 to the former; and to the latter, of Rs. 126. Or, if we take this last sum as representing the population of India, it is a fraction over 3 pies per head.

The above statistics would show that the mofussil is either practically excluded from the advantages of the bank, or that there is not the same confidence in these monetary institutions which city residence engenders. Taking the fact with which we started, that there is a tendency to accumulate, we desire to know how these accumulations are made, and to inquire whether they are invested profitably or otherwise. So far as I have been enabled to gather, many of those who are in a position to save, do so, and render their savings reproductive by dealing in grain, under the system of *bárhí;* that is, they supply grain to poor cultivators or others, the condition being that the quantity lent shall be returned at harvest time with one-fourth in addition. This may be profitable economy to the lender, but it is a perpetual impoverishment of the producer.

Another source of investment is to lend the money at exorbitant rates of interest, which is in effect much the same as the *bárhí* system, and must tend to the impoverishment or degradation of the borrower. It may be deemed wrong that exorbitant rates should be paid for loans, but it must be so according to the principle enunciated by the late Duke of Wellington, that high rates of interest mean bad security.

One method of investment—and it is a favourite one almost amounting to a passion with the Hindu—is to invest his money in

land, either in the absolute purchase of it, or in renting additional paddy fields, and the purchase of bullocks and implements of husbandry. This is a legitimate use of savings, and ought to produce a substantial class of yeomanry or farmers that the country so much requires.

A further use—if I may call it a use—of savings is the purchase of ornaments for personal decoration and jewels to place value in small compass. It is difficult even to guess at the amount of wealth thus kept idle in the hands of the people. Such a practice may be a relic of barbarous times, when concealment was the only safety. Under the British Government, there is no fear of spoliation; and the wealth thus lying idle should be brought into practical use. Supposing that each of one hundred millions of the people of India possessed in this way only ten rupees—an estimate which, I am informed, is by no means extravagant—this, if placed in Savings Banks under proper management, would give the magnificent sum of one hundred millions sterling as a working capital to the poor ryots of the country; and this is what India requires above all things. She has no *people* in the best sense of that term. She has workers in abundance; but they are too extensively the slaves of the village mahajuns, who have an embargo on the crops or the land, or the implements of industry, and the poor are kept always poor. There is no possibility of escaping indebtedness under the present system. The only change is from bad to worse, until the final ruin. Is it possible, under conditions like these, that there should ever be a *people* who would be a stay to the country or the Government? Their only idea is one of subsistence. They can have no thought for improvement, no idea of independence, and but too limited experience of even the comforts of life.

My notion is, that this useless wealth of the people should be put into active use for their benefit. I should be diffident in recommending on my own authority alone such a course as that I am about to suggest. But happily, there is the authority of a gentleman of extensive experience in this country whose opinions will have more weight than mine. Dr. Lees in his *Land and Labour in India*, page 54, speaking of money lenders, says:—

"The money lender is undoubtebly in some respects a great evil; but he is also in some respects a great good. Could Government be the means of scattering far and wide over the country a system of small commercial banking establishments, undoubtedly it would confer a lasting obligation on the people—could it, by any means, alleviate the present system of advances, it would be doing

much good. But to do either, in present circumstances seems impossible; and the wisest thing, therefore, that Government can do, is, instead of attempting to substitute one evil for another, to take the best measures for making the peasant proprietors of India altogether independent of money lenders, European or Native, at the very earliest possible date."

Here we have a clear indication of what is required for the good of the people of this country. But there are both difficulties and objections to the Government doing what Dr. Lees suggests: and we ask, why should not the people do it for themselves? If they have a hundred millions or more lying unproductive, why should they be thus eaten up by extortionate money lenders? I am not prepared with a detailed scheme to show what is required. But I conceive that the people of India have within themselves the means of greatly improving their position, and creating that class of independent yeomen who have been the mainstay of nations in all ages. It appears to me that this is a question which the members of this Association may consider with advantage; and with this object I have ventured to bring it before this meeting. The Native gentlemen, who are members, are in a position to inform and advise; and the Association will be happy to see them act in a matter that promises the best results to the people of this country.

The Reverend J. Long thought that the subject of the paper was a most important one, and he would like to hear several points in it taken up and discussed. He was himself extremely desirous to see savings banks established in the Mofussil in connection with the Collectorate, as had been proposed years ago by a Secretary to the Bengal Government.

Babu Greesh Chunder Ghose was of opinion that such banks were not wanted. When the ryot was pressed to pay cent. per cent. for his advances, he had no savings left to deposit. There were people with money in the Mofussil, but they could generally employ it much more profitably than by putting it into a savings bank. In some towns perhaps savings banks might be established with advantage. There was one already in the Presidency, and it was succeeding well.

Mr. Atkinson thought that small commercial banks, to take the place of the mahajun, would be found much more useful in the Mofussil than the establishment of savings banks.

Babu Sricoomar Sircar regretted that the zemindars did not make some effort to assist their ryots. He thought that whatever loans were required should be advanced by them.

Mr. Long urged that there were many other classes in the country, besides the ryots, who could save if they had the opportunity afforded them.

Babu Shamachurn Sircar said that there were doubtless many ryots who were in a position to save, but such men found much more profitable investments than savings banks.

Dr. Chuckerbutty approved of the establishment of banks in the Mofussil, but there was such a want of confidence among the people, that no private enterprise, he thought, would be likely to succeed. The undertaking should at least be under the auspices of Government, though it might be managed by Native agency.

Mr. Beverley entirely approved of the idea of establishing Mofussil banks to assist the ryot and take him out of the power of the mahajun, but he thought it would be an unwarrantable interference with free trade and competition, if the Government had any connection with what were strictly commercial banks. As regarded savings banks, however, there was not the same objection, and he trusted to see some scheme organized before long for their extension beyond the Presidency Town.

Dr. Ewart thought that the requisite machinery for the establishment of savings banks was already available in the Post Offices, and that they might be organized without much difficulty. He thought attention should also be directed to the utility of building societies, and he pointed how they might act in co-operation with savings banks.

Babu Kissory Chand Mittra urged the extension of education as being better calculated to create habits of thrift and economy than all the savings banks that might be established.

The President pointed out that an attempt had lately been made to establish a system of savings banks in Calcutta. An organization had been framed whereby the Government Savings Bank might be made more generally useful to the lower classes. If the experiment of the Anna Savings Banks in Calcutta was successful, he should be glad to see it extended to the Mofussil.

2. *The Festivals of the Hindus.* By Baboo Kissory Chand Mittra.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

Festivals are founded on a necessity of human nature. It is a necessity for play and pleasant excitement. The more civilized is the life that is lived by a people, the more imperative does that necessity become. Festivals are a break in the continuity of the dull uniformity of life. They diversify, so to speak, its dead level by lifting it out of the rut of routine. They make us cheerful and playful, and exercise a most healthy influence on our existence. The life of the Hindu expresses itself in religion and religious festivals, which exhibit the development of the inner existence of the nation.

Religion is so intimately bound up with the festivals of the Hindus, that the former must be prominently and frequently noticed in the course of describing the latter. Most of the festivals are invested with a religious significance, because Hinduism is grounded on fasts and feasts and festivals, in manifestations of sorrow and joy, in games and dances, in sacrifices and banquets. The Rig Veda, the substratum of the Hindu religion and the most ancient record of the institutions to which that religion gave rise, refers but incidentally to the performance of rites and festivals. The very first Sukta (Hymn) declares, "I glorify Agni, the high priest of the sacrifice, the divine ministrant who presents the oblation (to the gods), and is the possessor of great wealth." Agni is invoked as the *agra* or first of the gods, as the *agráni* or leader of the heavenly host, and as the *Prathama Devata* or the first of the gods. Indra is thus invoked: "Day by day we invoke the doer of good works for our protection, as a good milch cow for the milking (is called by the milker). Drinker of the soma juice, come to our (daily) rites and drink of the libations; the satisfaction of (thee who art) the bestower of riches, is verily (the cause of) the gift of cattle." It thus appears that the Homa and its concomitant rites and festivals were performed by the Northern Aryans, while they were settling and consolidating into a civilized and prosperous nation on the banks of the Sutlej.

The Yajur Veda, though a reflex of the Rig, enters more largely than its original into the performances of rites and festivals. It describes graphically the elaborate ceremonial connected with the Soma festival and sacrifices, *i. e.*, performed with the Somalata beer, or the fermented liquor of the Soma-plant. Their performance required an army of Hotas or priests, ladle-holders, songsters, and sacrificers. They lasted for weeks and months, and constituted the great national festival of the ancient Hindus.

The celebration of the Basanta or the advent of the vernal season was another festival of the Vedic era. It originated in the deification of Spring at a time when Sabeism, or elemental worship, had neither progressed to theism, nor degenerated into a debasing and demoralizing polytheism.

The Rajasúya Yogya was a royal festival which prevailed in the Vedic era, and was performed with great éclat in a subsequent period by the Pandavas in Indraprastha, some time after that city was founded on the ashes of Khandavaprastha. The last Rajasúya Yogya was celebrated by Rajah Joy Chunder of Kanouj in A. D. 1191. It was a festival not in celebration of the inauguration of a new and independent Raj, as is ingeniously, but erroneously, put forward by Mr. Talboys Wheeler in his History of India, but an assertion of sovereignty. Mr. Wheeler possibly may have thought it was the Septimontium of the Hindu, but it had no resemblance to the Roman festival of the Seven Mounts, which preserved the memory of the more extended settlement which gradually formed round the Palatine. It was (to compare small things with great) very much like a Durbar of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India (representing the paramount power) and its attendant balls and suppers and fireworks. Kanouj was an old and well established Raj. Joy Chunder had inherited it from a long line of ancestors. The fact of his performing the Rajasúya Yogya invalidates Mr. Wheeler's theory as to its character and object. But the festival had a sacred as well as a convivial element. While the Homa rites were being performed and the gods were being invoked, the Soma juice was circulated freely among the assembled Rajahs and their followers, the Nuts and Nutís attitudinised gracefully to the mellifluous music of the *Mridunga*, and the Bhats extolled the transcendent merits of the illustrious host.

The Aswamedha Yogya was however the most important festival in the Vedic era. It was founded on love of domination

and territorial aggrandisement. It was essentially a martial ceremonial and was peculiarly adapted to the pugnacious instincts of the Kshatriyas. The Aswamedha was tantamount to an assertion of imperial power. It was the putting forth of a claim of supremacy over rival chiefs and peoples. Its successful performance implied in popular estimation the establishment of the sovereignty of Bharatabarsa. Repeated a hundred times, it was supposed to ensure the headship of the host of heaven and the kingdom of Indra. It could be performed only by great Rajahs who, having conquered many countries, hungered and thirsted, like Alexander the Great, for more. It was a summary substitute for the formal declaration of war, and it aimed at the extinction of rival confederacies and kingdoms.

The Aswamedha consisted in letting loose an *aswa* or horse (with a gold plate with the name of the performer inscribed thereon) for one entire year into foreign territories, where his entrance was a challenge to them. The horse wandered away at will, and his movements were followed by his owner and his army, ready to do battle with such chiefs as might carry away the animal and refuse on demand to tender their submission by restoring him. If the rival Rajah should get the better in battle, he was entitled to retain the horse and put a stop to the Aswamedha. But if he should be worsted, he was compelled to restore the horse, and assist as a feudatory in the celebration of the Aswamedha rite. The performer of the Aswamedha thus succeeded in reducing to submission every chief who dared to carry away his horse and was considered to have achieved a great feat and earned imperishable renown. The ceremony was brought to a termination by the sacrifice of the horse to the Devatas in the presence of the conquered chiefs and the people, and by a grand dinner at which the roasted flesh of the horse would be regarded as the *chef d'œuvre*. So the ancient Hindus discussed horse meat, ages before the French and the Londoners of the West End Club could dream of it. The Aswamedha was a combination of the idea of imperial sovereignty with that of an imperial festival. Commencing in a challenge to war, and progressing in the subjection of the recusant Rajahs, it culminated in fusing them into a friendly confraternity and enlisting their good will on behalf of the new imperial regimé by a social and convivial gathering. It was a jubilation of the conquerors and the conquered.

The Ramayana describes the Aswamedha Yogya which was performed by Rama. It was not without strong resistance on the part of his own sons Naba and Kúsa that the sacrifice was celebrated. Naba and Kúsa had been born in the wilderness, whither their mother Síta had been banished by Rama for her supposed infidelity to him. They had been reared in the school of adversity, and inheriting the martial instincts of their father, had become great warriors. When the horse of Rama entered their settlement, they seized the animal and defied the owner. Father and sons fought fiercely and the fight resulted in the victory of the latter over the former. Rama recognized in his conquerors his own sons, his instinct having told him that none but his own flesh and blood could vanquish his invincible prowess. The recognition was followed by the reconciliation of Rama with Seeta. The sons tendered their submission and homage to the father and restored the horse. The happy family then returned to Ajodhya, and the Aswamedha was performed with due éclat.

In the post-vedic and the Puranic age the Aswamedha was no longer invested with its original political significance. It came to be regarded as an atonement for sins and a potent means of acquiring religious merit. Thus, after the Pandavas conquered the Kurus and were established in the Raj of Bharut, and the sensitive Yudhishthira grieved over the carnage committed in the great war, his ancestor, the mythical Vyása, counselled him to perform the Aswamedha as an expiation for his sins. The Aswamedha performed by Yudhishthira is most graphically described in the Mahabharata. When the Rishis, Rajahs, and Chiefs and their ladies and followers were assembled and seated according to their rank on thrones of gold and sandalwood, the Maharajah and his Raní Draupadí bathed themselves in the water of the holy Ganges. Then he ploughed the space of ground set apart for the horse sacrifice with a golden plough, Draupadí following her illustrious husband and sowing the space with paddy and other kinds of grains. The spot was then covered with four hundred golden bricks, and Vyása, Vasistha, and Narada seated themselves on the golden pavement. Eight pillars with banners floating were planted round the pavement, which was then roofed with a golden sheet. The Homa of milk, ghee, and dhay was then performed in eight pits dug for the purpose. Twenty-four kulsis of water were then brought from the Ganges in a procession by distinguished Rishís and Rajahs and their Ranís. Yudhishthira distributed among them splendid dresses and decorated them with pearl

necklaces. Gold, silver, elephants, horses, and cows were distributed among the Brahmins. The Maharajah seated himself on a throne of gold and the twenty-four kulsis of water which had been brought from the Ganges were poured over his head. The horse was brought forward, and while undergoing the ceremony of bathing opened his mouth, and spoke.

"Then Nakula opened the mouth of the horse, and held up his head, and said:—'The horse is speaking:' And those around cried out:—'What does the horse say?' Nakula replied:—The horse says:—"In other Yogas wherein a horse is sacrificed, he goes to Swarga, which is the heaven of Indra; but I shall go far above Swarga, because in the present Yaga very many great and distinguished persons, such as Krishna, are here assembled together; and Krishna has not been present at other sacrifices, for which reason I shall go far beyond all other sacrificial horses."*

Rajah Janmajay, the grandson of Rajah Purikshit and the great grandson of Arjuna, is said to have celebrated the Aswamedha, but to have failed to reap the merit. After the assembled chiefs and Brahmins were honored and rewarded and the sacrifice of the horse was completed, a Brahmin boy, at the instigation or rather under the inspiration of some *devata* jealous of the renown which would be earned by the Rajah, laughed at him and ridiculed the ceremony. This so irritated the Rajah that he killed the boy there and then, and was thus deprived of the fruits of the sacrifice.

The last Aswamedha was celebrated by Prirthi Rajah of Delhi about the year 1190. In the last century, the Rajah of Marwara attempted the Aswamedha, but for want of sufficient funds he abandoned the idea.

But the time came when Hinduism underwent a great revolution. The old gods of the Vedas were superseded by the new gods of the Puranas. Agni and Indra were replaced by Siva and Krishna. The worship of the tri-murtti was substituted for that of the unpersonified elements. Káma was dethroned by Sakti; the celebration of the Basanta or the vernal season festival was changed into that of Dol Jatra. The introduction of new divinities led to the institution of new rites

* Wheeler's History of India, Vol. I., p. 430

and festivals. Some of these divinities are represented in terrible forms, and the attributes predicated of them are calculated to excite fear instead of love. While in England external nature is small and feeble, in India she is great and terrific. This difference has naturally moulded the minds of the two races. It has produced corresponding differences in their mental constitutions. The Englishman has been encouraged and taught to subordinate his imagination to his understanding. The Hindu has been intimidated, his imagination aroused, and his understanding dwarfed. The former has learnt to conquer nature, the latter has succumbed to her. This is illustrated in the most popular Pujas of the Hindus. In the very images and character of Durga, Kali, and Jagaddhatri, we see how the appalling aspects of the external world have filled the minds of the Hindus with the ideas of the terrible and the marvellous, which they have striven to embody in the ten-handed goddess in the act of killing Mahishur. Durga is the most popular goddess, and images of terror are intimately associated with her. She is represented as an Amazonian woman armed with sword and spear, mounted on a lion and fighting with a giant. She is represented as a still more hideous being, as Kali, encircled by a girdle of cobras, holding a human skull in her hand and wearing a garland of human bones. She has a body of dark blue, having four red arms symbolical of her blood-thirstiness. Durga is supposed to be the *tej* or emanation of the creative spirit.

The whole legend of Durga and the mode of her pujah or worship, which will be recited and described hereafter, afford a remarkable illustration of the influence of the aspects of nature in this country on the minds of her children. In her image and character we see that their tendency to inflame the imagination and to obfuscate the understanding has been very marked. In no country in Asia are the force and majesty of nature so powerfully exhibited as in India. Her impassable forests, her luxuriant vegetation, abounding in gigantic creepers and stupendous ficæ, her vast rivers traversing the length and breadth of the country, and her cloud-capped mountains, the fabled abode of Rishis and Devatas, have, from time immemorial, excited in the Hindu mind ideas of the vague and the uncontrollable, the undefined and the indefinable, the marvellous and the miraculous. Contrasting himself with these stupendous features of the external world, the diminutive Hindu is oppressed and bewildered

by their majestic and imposing grandeur on the one hand and his own insignificance and inferiority on the other. His mind instead of enquiring and analyzing the appearance and phenomena of nature, refers them to supernatural causes. Unable to generalize those phenomena and looking on isolated facts, he becomes the most superstitious of all Asiatics. Considering different events as unconnected with each other, he has been led to recognize a Lakshmí in the dispensation of wealth, and a Saraswati in that of knowledge, a Varuna in the rule of the waters, and a Pavana in that of the wind. But the simple and sublime idea of the one Director over all these gifts and elements, implies an inquisitive and an analytic spirit which is not encouraged by the peculiar aspects of external nature in Hindustan. Hindu idolatry, such as existed in the days of Vikramaditya, and such as is now practised by the great mass of the people, has arisen from a timid and torpid state of mind, which is naturally induced by the appalling appearances of nature. The imagination having been aroused, the understanding was proportionably weakened. Human power having failed, super-human power was evoked.

Of the minor rites and festivals there are an infinite number, every month or fortnight being set apart for some one or other of them. I shall mention only the most prominent and popular in a chronological order.

The 1st of Bysack is the New Year's Day. It is a day of great jubilation with the mahajuns and modies, who decorate their guddís and shops with evergreens and garlands, and entertain their constituents and customers. These latter or their representatives are received as guests, and are expected in return for the hospitality to deposit some money as earnest of their transactions for the ensuing year. In the second month, that is Jeit, the ceremony of *snanjatra* is performed. It consists in the bathing of Krishna, Juggernath, and other Thakurs representing them. In Mahesh, opposite Titaghur, a mela is held during the *snanjatra* and is frequented by the people of Calcutta. Fast Babus avail themselves of this occasion, to make boat excursions to Mahesh and get up picnics on the banks and churs of the river.

The Dasara also takes place this month. It consists in bathing in the holy stream of the Ganges and worshipping her with fruits and flowers. In a country where the weather is grilling during the summer, it is no wonder that ablution

should be inculcated by the Shastras as a religious obligation. They teach that cleanliness is not only next to, but is, godliness itself. On the day of Dasara, the orthodox Hindus abstain from rice and fish and dine off milk and fruits. In this month the festival of Sashtibátá takes place. It consists in mothers-in-law entertaining their sons-in-law. These are fed sumptuously and receive presents of fruits, sweetmeats, clothes, &c.

In Assar the celebration of Rath Jatra takes place. Those by whom Raths are made and dedicated to gods, must have them drawn either in the compounds of their own houses or on the public roads for twelve years successively, after which period they may be disposed of to Brahmins. All Raths are paraded twice every year, attended by a procession of khol and kurtal beaters, singing the praises of Juggernath and Krishna. Pooree being the head-quarters of Juggernath, is the great place for the Rath Jatra. It attracts during that festival thousands of men from all parts of India. The abominable exhibitions which take place annually during the Rath Jatra at Pooree and Mahesh afford a melancholy illustration of the prostration of mind caused by superstition.

In the month of Sraban, the *jhulan-jatra* or the swinging of Krishna and Radha is celebrated. Krishna was very fond of swinging while he was at Brindabun; he is said to have indulged in this diversion in the umbrageous groves of that classic spot. The festival is continued for three days and nights, and is accompanied by the performance of nautches and jatras, and also pyrotechnic exhibitions.

On the eighth night of the dark side of the moon in the month of Bhadon, Krishna was born. His birth is celebrated with great éclat in this month. The festival is called the *Janmastamí*. It is to the Voishnavas what Christmas is to the Christians. The Hindu females, anxious to make themselves dear to the God, fast on the anniversary of his birth-day, and at night hear the story of his incarnation in the family of Basu Deb. On the next day, processions, representing the characters of milk-maids, songsters, hijras, brojobasees, &c., daubed with turmeric powder, are to be seen in the roads, bawling and howling to excite the hilarity of the mob, and impress on their minds the manners and customs of the people of Mathura, when Krishna was born there.

During the month of Bhadon, the Hindus offer every day *til* and Gunga water to the manes of their deceased ancestors to the fourteenth remove, for the purpose of augmenting their celestial enjoyments. The ceremony is called *tappan.* On the last day of this month all the braziers, carpenters, and smiths collect their respective implements of trade in a corner of their shops, and worship Biskarma, the god of all manual arts, under an impression of thriving in their professions under his protection. On the same day the Natives busy themselves in the pleasures of *arandhan,* or eating with a great many curries the rice dressed on the preceding night and soaked in water for converting it into a sour article of repast. This is done to propitiate *Manashá,* the goddess of serpents.

It is in the month of Assin, corresponding sometimes to the end of September and sometimes to the beginning of October, that the most popular Puja is celebrated. The pomp and circumstance with which the goddess Durga is worshipped, exercise a very marked effect on Hindu society. The legend of Durga is contained in the following extracts from the Markand Puran, and other Purans and Tantras :—

"When at the end of a Kalpa or great cycle of years, the world "was converted into one boundless ocean, and the great Lord "Bhagavan Vishnu was asleep in meditation on his endless (ocean) "bed, two dreadful demons (asura) born of the wax of his ears, and "known as Madhu and Kaitabhá, wished to destroy Brahma. He "(Brahma) the father of creation, who was seated on a lotus in "Vishnu's navel, prayed Yoganidrá with earnest undivided attention."—*Márkanedya Puran.*

"During the wars of Ráma and Rávana, Ráma worshipped "Durgá, and because Ráma killed Rávana by worshipping Durgá "in the month of Aswin, therefore do mankind celebrate the "Sárada or dewy season festival of Durgá."—*Kártyáyni Tantra.*

"Hearing thus his words, he, the king Suratha, went immediately to the sage, and he, the Vasya, to the Muni, and the two "prepared a figure of the Devi with earth, and worshipped her on "the river bank with flowers, incense, and water."—*Márkandeya Puran.*

"On the 9th of Kártika, when the moon was in Aquarius, "the sun, by worshipping Durga with attention, attained health, "progeny, and the office of being the witness of the creation."—*Kattyáyani Tantra.*

During the Durga Puja festival a perfect flutter pervades the whole household. The excitement of the zenana is intense and is manifested in various ways. The ladies may be seen now busily occupied in the preparation of the consecrated food and anon decorating their persons with jewels of the latest fashion. All business stands aside. The dull routine of office work and home affairs is thrown off. The shroff puts away his hundis and the mahajun his khatta books. The ryot forgets his crops, and the zemindar forgets to put Act X of 1859 in force against the ryot. The rites last three days and three nights, during which the whole country presents a vast scene of gaiety and festive enjoyment. Dissipation and devilment reign in the *Báithak-khána* of the Babu, as well as in the *chálá* of the *chásá*.

There are those among the votaries of Durga who declare that in worshipping her, they worship the active or female principle of the universe. Matter and power constitute, the former the male, the latter the female, nature of the Godhead, to whom they attribute a double nature, though essentially an unity; *i. e.*, god is at once male and female, inseparably united to constitute a whole, the supreme perfection, the sole creator of the universe, the one without a second of the Vedas, Purush and Prikriti together, from the Mahapurush or Brahma. Durga then in their estimation is the symbol of Sati or the female or productive part of the supreme being or essence, and consequently the sovereign Mistress of the creation. In other words, God having a double nature, material and spiritual, the goddess Durga represents the spiritual. She is the deification of supreme intelligence. Of her three eyes, the one situated in the centre of the forehead between the two eyebrows is symbolical of intellect or reason, the internal or spiritual sight.

The group of idols, which during the three days of Durga-worship are exhibited in the halls of the Native houses, admit, according to this theory, of a learned and theological explanation, not in accordance with the popular belief derived from the legendary narrative of the Puranas. The chief of the group is Durga, that is, reason or intellect. Her two daughters, Lakshmí and Saraswati, placed on her left and right are the symbols of wealth and learning or knowledge, both being naturally created by, or the results of, the exercise of intelligence. Her two sons, Ganesha and Kartika, placed lower down, represent, the former wisdom, the latter military science, both being the fruits of the development of intelligence. The lion, on which Durga rides,

signifies the omnipotence of reason or knowledge which is power. The rebellious Asura, beneath the lion, is symbolical of the passions whom reason is controlling with the strength of a lion. This explanation is, it is said, but ill suited to the understanding of the vulgar herd; hence arose the necessity for inventing the Puranic legend above quoted, and which is adapted to the meanest capacities of an illiterate mob, to satisfy their latent and innate religious cravings, and pander to their strong animal propensities and superstitious imagination. In this manner, divested of its mystic symbolical character, the worship of Durga, the wife of Siva, the daughter of Himalaya and Manoca, the mother of Lakshmí, Saraswati, Ganesha, and Kartika, and the female saviour of the world, has been invested by some popular writers among her votaries with a human interest, calculated at once to win the popular mind by the most seducing appeals to its most powerful domestic instincts and devotional impulses, and encumbering the ceremonial with a number of unintelligible and unexplained rituals and sacrifices, of which even many learned Brahmins themselves do not understand the import. All families that are capable of affording it, welcome home the goddess, or rather her image, as if she were the mother of the universe coming *propria persona* to bless them and their homes with her beauty and grace, and freely showering on them the choicest gifts of fortune both here and hereafter. The reward of this annual observance is heaven and eternal beatitude.

To propitiate her, they offer her plantains, rice, sweetmeats, &c., and sacrifice goats, buffaloes, &c., entertaining her at the same time with all sorts of music and dances, both devotional and obscene, prayers, amusements, revelry, and feastings being alike mingled together in one wild confusion. To express their joy at her advent, they invite their neighbours, relatives, friends, acquaintances, and dependents, feasting them with the choicest of native dishes, viands, and sweetmeats, and sending to them presents of clothes and eatables. In fact the Durga Puja is at once the most pious and jovial of all Hindu national festivals. It is the *ne plus ultra* of gaiety, fun and merriment of all sorts. On the three nights every house is illuminated. It imparts for the time being a prodigious artificial impulse to internal trade of every kind. Goods of every description rise to their maximum prices. During the three or four days it lasts, the whole nation, from the highest to the lowest, are to be found in their holiday clothes, passing their time in

thoughtless merry-making and amusements and in prayers and worship. Paris was not perhaps more thoughtless and gay, while her citizens were engaged in worshipping the goddess of reason, than the inhabitants of Bengal are during the holidays, nor was the blood then shed by the Parisians more profuse than the blood here shed in guillotining goats and other animals.

On the fourth day Durga is supposed to have returned to the Himalayan regions, the abode of her father. Her new lifeless image is carried to the river side in processions with flags flying and dols and dhaks thundering, and is consigned to the waters. On the return of the procession the members of the family assemble in the dalan or hall of worship and embrace each other, receiving and offering sweetmeats as a token of reciprocal love and amity, and of previous injuries and heart-burnings being forgiven and forgotten. This is called Bijoya, and is unquestionably the best and most interesting part of the Durga Puja ceremonial.

The next festival, in the order of time, is that of Lukhí Puja or the worship of Lakshmí, the goddess of fortune. It is held on the fifth night after the Durga Puja, the Kojagar Púrníma or the full moon night. The ceremonies observed, irrespective of those connected with the worship of the goddess, are to drink copiously the milk of the cocoanut (cocus mucifera) and to keep up the whole night. Total abstinence from sleep and copious libations of cocoanut milk constitute the most important part of the Lukhí Puja, which greatly resembles a village wake. Verily the worshippers of Lakshmí believe with the poet of the "Seasons"—

> "Is there aught
> In sleeping that can charm the wise?"

On the following Amábásya, or the last day of the dark side of the moon, the *Sama* or *Kali Puja* festival is held. It lasts one night only, and is, so to speak, a great field day with persons who are given to the bottle and are the votaries of Bacchus. *Kali* is represented as of a jet black colour, standing in an attitude of defiance over the prostrate body of her husband Siva. She is armed with sword, with dishevelled curls flowing in a wild profusion and garlanded with a necklace of slaughtered heads of giants. In this position she is said to have destroyed *Sambhu* and *Nisambhu* the most puissant giants of the Satya

Yog. This most remarkable victory of *Kali* has been immortalized in an epic pœm called Chandi, which is recited with great animation by the Purohits during the Durga Puja.

The Kali Puja night is dedicated to singing, dancing, and feasting, and in *saktá* families to drinking. The sacrificed meat is served up in the shape of curries, and is washed down by abundant potations of rice wine. It is generally supposed that this festival was established by Agambagish, who is said to have celebrated it for the first time; but it is of more ancient date, as may be reasonably inferred from the following extracts from the *Kalika Purana*:—

সর্ব্বে সুরগণাঃ সেন্দ্রা জগ্মুস্তো গবো হিমাচলং। গঙ্গাবতার নিকটে মহামায়াং প্রতুষ্টুবুঃ॥ অনেক সংস্তুতা দেবী তদা সর্ব্বামরোৎ করৈঃ। মাতঙ্গ বনিতা মূর্ত্তি র্ভুবো দেবানপৃচ্ছত॥ যুষ্মাভিরম রৈরত্র স্তূয়তে কাচ ভাবিনী। কিমর্থমাগতা যূয়ং মাতঙ্গ স্যাশ্রমং প্রতি॥ এবং ব্রুবন্ত্যা মাতঙ্গ্যা স্তস্যাস্তু কায়কোষতঃ। সমুদ্ভূতা ব্রবীদ্দেবী মাংস্তবন্তি সুরাইতি॥ শুম্ভো নিশুম্ভো অসুরৌ বাধেতে সকলান্ সুরান্। তস্মাত্তযোর্ব্বধা য়াহং স্তূয়েদ্য সকলৈঃ সুরৈঃ॥ বিনিঃ সৃতায়াং দেব্যাস্তু মাতঙ্গ্যাঃ কায়তস্তদা। ভিঃস্নাঞ্জননিভাকৃষ্ণা সাভূৎ গৌর য়ীক্ষ নাদপি॥ কালিকাখ্যা ভবৎ সাপি হিমাচলকৃতাশ্রয়া।

"All the Devas with Indra at their head then repaired to the Himálaya mountains, whence the river Ganges descends, and prayed Mahámáyá. The Devi, well pleased, assuming the form of a she-elephant, came there to bathe, and asked the gods, 'Why have you come near the abode of the elephant, and why and to whom are you praying?' As soon as she heard their reply, then forth issued from her body a goddess, who said, 'You gods are praying to me. The demons Sambhu and Nisambhu obstruct all the gods, therefore I am for their destruction, urged thereto by the gods.' Then the goddess fair who had issued from the body of the she-elephant, became for a moment dark black as the pigment from the Bhelá nut. Her name is Káliká, and she dwells on the Himáchala."

On the night of the Sama Puja the Dewali festival is held. It consists in dusting furniture, washing and cleaning the house, and illuminating the same at night. Indeed illumination constitutes the most interesting part of the festival, and is resorted to on a large scale by up-country men inhabiting Burra Bazar and other places. Among Bengalí the mistress of the house collects around the female inmates, and impresses upon them the necessity and value of cleanliness by relating a tale of

which the following translation is given by "A Hindu" in an old number of the Calcutta Journal :—

In days of yore there lived a Brahmin and Brahmini in a hamlet. They were very poor and extremely unclean. In every corner of their cottage heaps of dust, soot, straw, and decayed vegetable had gathered, but neither of them ever thought of removing them. The Brahmini never cut her nails, nor painted her feet with the red streaks of *alta*. One evening of Sama Púja the Brahmin having received nothing from his neighbours, was returning home with a few betels in his mouth and betel-nuts in hand, after a fatiguing round. A tangled wood lay across his way. When he reached it, a huge female form of a most grisly aspect appeared before him, crying, "With betel-nuts in hand, betel in mouth, whither dost thou stray, Brahmin Thakur. Tell Coonee, Boonee has been blessed with a son?" This terrified the Brahmin so much, that he fell entranced on the ground. He, however, soon recovered his sense, and with a dejected spirit, writhing in the perturbation and agony of fear, he arrived home. "Oh Brahmini," said he, "I have received nothing to-day and have seen a most dreadful figure screaming, 'With betel-nuts' in hand, betel in mouth, whither dost thou stray, Brahmin Thakur? Tell Coonee, Boonee has been blessed with a son.'" Scarce was the narration of this circumstance over, when another gigantic creature of an equally appalling nature issued from one of the corners of the cottage, yelling, "She is my sister, she is my sister, I was Boonee, I am Boonee. Execrable shade, who art thou that dwellest in our cottage? We two sisters, Coonee and Boonee, live whither rubbish and dirt are allowed to accumulate, and also near such persons as are strangers to cleanliness." This was a lesson to the Brahmin and to the Brahmini; they now changed their mode of living. "So ye children and girls," continues the grihini, "you must try to be very clean and neat to-day, unless you choose that your dwelling house should be haunted by those two hob-goblins."

Two days after the Sama Puja festival or the second day of the bright side of the moon, there is held a pleasing festival, namely the Bhratashditwiya. It consists in sisters entertaining their brothers. The former invite the latter to a rich breakfast and present them with costly clothes. This custom is supposed to have originated with the sisters of Yama, the Pluto of the Hindu.

কার্ত্তিকে শুক্লপক্ষস্য দ্বিতীয়ায়াং যুধিষ্ঠির। যমো যমুনয়া পূর্ব্বং ভোজিতঃ স্বগৃহে সবয়ং॥
তস্মান্নিজগৃহে পার্থ নভোক্তব্য মতো বুধৈঃ। যত্নেন ভগিনী হস্তা ভোক্তব্যং পুষ্টিবর্দ্ধনং॥
দানানিচ প্রদেয়ানি ভগিনী ভ্যো বিশেষতঃ।

"O Yudhishthira, on the second day of the waxing moon, in the month of Kártika, Yama was once respectfully treated with presents and entertained at her house by his sister Yamuna, therefore is that day celebrated in the three regions as the second day of Yama. On that day, O Parthá, men should not therefore eat in their own houses. Carefully should they eat for the improvement of the vigour from the hands of their sisters, and offer them becoming presents."—*Bhavishya Purána.*

In the month of Kartick, and nine days after the Sama Puja, or rather on the ninth day of the bright side of the moon, the Jagaddhatrí Púja festival is held. Jagaddhatrí (literally the nurse of the universe) is another form of Durga, and is represented as an Amazon seated on a lion. The Puja lasts one day and one night, during which goats and buffaloes are sacrified. It is enlivened by dancing and feasting. There are many Hindus who believe that the Rajah of Kishnaghur introduced this Puja, but they are mistaken, inasmuch as the worship of Jagaddhatrí prevailed in olden times.

কার্ত্তিকে শুক্লপক্ষে ভৌমবাচরে জগৎ প্রসু । সর্ব্বেদেব হিতার্থায় দুবৃত্ত দমনায়চ । আবিরাসীৎ জগচ্চিন্তৈঃ যুগাদৌ পরমেশ্বর । ইতি কুব্জীকাতন্ত্রবচনং ।

কুম্ভরাসিগতে চন্দ্রে নবম্যাং কার্ত্তিকথচে । উষস্য দ্দোদিতো ভানু দুর্গা মারাধ্য যত্নবান্ । পুত্রা রোস্য বরং লেভে লোক সাক্ষিত্ব মেবচ ইতি কাত্যায়নী তন্ত্রবচনং ।

"On Tuesday the ninth of the waxing moon, in the month of Kártika, being the first day of the Treta Yuga, the great lady Jagatprasu or the mother of creation, manifested herself for the good of the gods, the punishment of the wicked, and the peace of creation."—*Kubjika Tantra.*

On the last day of the month of Kartik, corresponding to the end of October, the youngest son of Dúrga is worshipped. Kartika is represented as the ideal of manly beauty, enthroned on a peacock of magnificent plumage and armed with a bow and arrow. The object of this Puja is to obtain children, for Kartika is supposed to have the peculiar power of conferring that blessing. Hence he is a great favorite with women, specially those who are desirous of being in that interesting condition, in which "ladies love to be who love their lords."

এবমারাধ্য দেবেশী মিন্দ্রজিদ্রাবণাত্মজঃ । অভবৎ কার্ত্তিকেয়ো বৈ দুর্গা মেবং সমার্চ্চয়নঃ । অন্নায়ং কার্ত্তিকেমাসি তশ্রুবকা সুরঃ নাশকঃ । ইতি কাত্যায়নী তন্ত্র বচনং ।

"Indrájit, son of Rávana, thus worshipping the great goddess and offering adoration to Durgá on the new moon of Kartika, was born as Kartikeya, the destroyer of the demon Taraka."—*Karttyáyni Tantra.*

বৃশ্চিকস্য তমশ্চান্ত্যাং পুত্রকামা ব্রতং চরেৎ।

"He who wishes for sons should observe a fast at the commencement of the scorpion, *i. e.*, at the end of the month of Kártika."

The Rásh Jatra festival falls sometimes at the end of Kartik, and sometimes at the commencement of Augran. It is founded upon a legend recited by the *Srímat Bhagabat* relating to the flirtations of Krishna with the milkmaids of Brindabun. The festival lasts three days and is enlivened as usual with music and dinner. Melas are held during it in several places, such as Khurda, Baroepore, &c.

The last three days of Pous are set apart for the preparation and consumption of *peetas* or cakes. The Hindus prepare an endless variety of confectionery and invite their friends to discuss the same.

In the following month of Magh, *i. e.*, during the present month (and yesterday was the day), Saraswatí, or the goddess of learning, together with inkstands, pens, books, and other paraphernalia of writing and reading, are worshipped. The day of this Puja is called Srí Punchomí, or the fifth day of the moon *par excellence*. The feast that is given on this day consists of a vegetable diet, from which fish and meat are religiously excluded; the goddess, being a vegetarian, delighting in simple food and abominating sacrifices of animals or of anything else. The day of this Puja is regarded as the expiration of winter and the birth of spring. In order to celebrate the advent of the latter season, the Hindus put on yellow coloured dhotees and chadars, yellow being the favorite colour of Basantí or the god of spring. The day of this festival is dedicated to boat excursions and the night to music.

The Dol Jatra festival is celebrated in the month of Falgoon. It originated in Krishna's swinging with Radhika under the groves of Brindabun. It is the same as the holy festival of the up-country men. With these it is a Saturnalia. For several days before the actual Puja takes place, they parade the streets

and public thoroughfares, singing and dancing and throwing at each other as well as at passengers *Phag* or red powder. So this festival is with them a season of merriment and devilment.

The last day of the last month of the Bengali year is inaugurated by the *Charak Pújá* festival, of which the barbarous and cruel practice of hook-swinging forms a prominent feature. The institution of Charak Pújá is not sanctioned by the Shastras; it was simply a local ceremony, originally introduced by Ban Rajah in his own Raj, to propitiate Siva, and gradually extended to other places. In some districts this practice is unknown, while in others it has been put down by energetic magistrates and enlightened zemindars, but it nevertheless prevails in a great many places. As it endangers human life and is revolting to a degree, I trust it will soon be prohibited by the strong arm of the law. I readily admit that social and religious changes must be effected by the natural progress of society; but the barbarities of the Charak Pújá are not enjoined or even warranted by the Shastras. If Government puts them down, it will have the consent and support of the upper and educated classes of the community, those on whom the ruler in every civilized country naturally relies for the introduction of any measure of general usefulness, affecting the well-being of the entire community. I do not of course invoke the interference of Government with the religious observances connected with the Charak Pújá. Far be it also from me to discourage the melas which are held in hundreds of villages on the occasion of the festival, where thousands of people congregate, making purchases of edibles, toys, fancy articles, and articles of dress, and interchanging the social amenities of life.

This country is in a state of transition. We live in an age of revolution. The most conservative Hindu cannot fail to perceive that there is not a custom, or observance, or belief, which is not now subjected to the crucial test of impartial criticism. The causes and agencies of progress are now so actively at work among us, that we trust, devoutly trust, the day is not far distant when the festivals of the Hindus may be eliminated of all that is barbarous and superstitious, and rendered subservient to the promotion of their social and rational happiness.

Babu Grish Chunder Ghose thought the subject was of the highest interest, so far as it was connected with the religion of the country. At present that religion was doubtless in a state of transition. He (the speaker) could scarcely say whether or not he were an idolator, or whether or not he

were a Brahmoist. But however religion might change, festivals could not be entirely swept away. Every religion had its festivals. Even Brahmoism had exhibited its gorgeous procession only a few days since; its propagator had found it impossible to keep his hold upon the people without the aid of some such demonstration. For his own part he could never be otherwise than affected at the season of the Durga Púja. Durga was to him an incarnation of Semiramis, and his (the speaker's) ideas all went back at the festival to the time of Semiramis. He felt at such times that it was the re-enactment of the struggle between the Syrians and the aborigines of the country. The scene was laid in the passes from which the invading hordes had always come. He trusted that Western criticism would ere long throw much more light on the subject.

Dr. Chuckerbutty admitted that festivals were very dear to the masses. At the same time there had been a great change in the last 25 or 30 years, and they were now characterised rather as social gatherings than as being connected with worship. Like the festival of Gog and Magog, they would doubtless disappear by degrees, without any violent attempt to put them down.

3.—*Female occupations in Bengal. By* Babu Greesh Chundra Ghose.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

An impression generally prevails in European society that the women of Bengal are conspicuous by a large vacuity of mind as well as of occupation. It is impossible, however, for the human mind to remain unfilled, and it is impossible also for the women of an ancient people once distinguished for civilization in no small degree to remain without some kind of active occupation. In treating of the occupations of the women of Bengal; it is necessary to divide the subject into three principal heads, *viz.*:—

1*st.*—The occupations of the women of rich families.

2*nd.*—The occupations of women of the middle station in society.

3*rd.*—The occupations of poor women.

As regards the rich, in large towns they unhappily present the worst conditions of an unhealthy inactivity. The rich man's wife, in a place where every luxury can be purchased for money, is a singular specimen of idleness and prostrated powers of body and mind. Rising from bed long after the sun has made a fair progress in the heaven, her handmaids are ready to loosen her hair. Every comfort and convenience is at hand. She bathes in winter on a sunny terrace. In summer the coldest water is reserved for her ablutions. She is wiped dry by her domestics, and the manner in which she is handled and manipulated upon by them might induce in a stranger the suspicion that she was suffering from paralysis of the limbs. This devout nursing produces in most instances stupendous proportions of body unfit for active employment, and fit only to grace the sitting room or the couch. Even the duty of attending to the children is taken away from her; numerous and officious servants are paid for that business. So soon as a child is born, a wet nurse is introduced to relieve maternity of its foremost and most natural occupation. The entire time of these splendid automatons is devoted indeed to feasting and dressing, playing cards and tearing characters. The affairs of the house proceed without their laborious interference, and when there happen to be young daughters-in-law in the family they are

systematically bullied, and the bulk of such work as cannot be entrusted to servants is thrown upon their tender shoulders.

Many of the wives of the rich are exceedingly haughty and ill-tempered, the natural effect of the training which they undergo; so that their lives present one unbroken page of discord and strife, agitating all within the immediate range of their authority or influence. The mornings, as I have said, are devoted to ablutions, followed by poojahs—both lazily conducted. Then the fast is broken by a heavy dish of dainties, composed of fruits, curds, and sweet-meats plentifully piled up. The interval between this preliminary breakfast and the formal dinner is not very long. It is passed, however, in a recumbent posture, with a solace of betel-nuts and an ample allowance of tobacco. The dinner is elaborately set out with fish and ghee and milk measured by the seer. It is supplemented again by sweet-meats and confectionery. When the gorging is complete, the fair *gourmande* betakes herself to bed, and it is not till close upon evening that she finishes her siesta. The toilet now commences, but the entire details of the mysterious art are in the hands of the attendant maids. Their mistress gives them little help; she is completely at rest. But whatever rest other portions of the body may enjoy, the teeth certainly cannot be charged with inactivity; for when they are not masticating food, or hissing abuse, they are chewing the eternal pán leaf and nut. Before the evening meal demands attention, a few spare hours are available. These are passed with the help of cards and gossip, in which friends, foes, relatives, neighbours, and servants thump and bump against every point of the scandal compass. The hot work is interrupted only by a call to tiffin, in which sweet-meats and milk abound as usual. The whole is concluded by a very substantial feast at night, redolent of night-mare or dyspepsia. The monotony of this sort of life is occasionally broken by an excursion to Kalighat or a jaunt to Taruckesur. There is absolutely no leisure for any thing else, for books, elevated thought, art, or refinement.

In the country the case is completely the reverse. The zemindar is a much more industrious man than the city millionaire, and his wife, therefore, has no precedent for idleness. Her duties are too numerous not to keep her fully employed. The evil of a crowd of servants, to assist the mistress of the house to move her limbs, has not penetrated as yet into the mofussil. The zemindar's lady is compelled to be an early riser, in order to commence the duties of the household in proper time. In the depth

of winter she bathes in a cold biting tank, or, if she lives near the river, in the sacred stream before the sun is up. Cleansing is her first duty. The house is swept carefully, with an adequate smearing of cowdung in places occupied the previous night by unclean food or things. This she directs personally. The plates are then faultlessly washed. If a speck remains on them they are returned for a second process of cleaning. The preparations for food are next undertaken. They are vast and laborious. To give out the stores in approximate quantities is a task which only a practised eye and a firm hand can faithfully perform. The domestics are in league to steal whatever may be found super-abundant; it is the perquisite of their office. The mistress of the house is fully aware of the danger. But her keenness baffles the coalition. Her family and establishment have to be plentifully, but not wastefully, provided for. In very large and rich families the number of persons to be thus fed daily seldom falls short of one hundred. The lady, assisted by her juniors, is laboriously employed in cutting and paring the vegetables destined for the dinner courses; the rice and the dall to be cooked are also carefully cleaned and picked. To this succeeds the task of cooking, which is often performed by her with similar assistance, for it is against the custom and the creed of many families to eat "bought food," as it is called, when the food is prepared by paid cooks. The enormous quantity of edibles required renders the duty of their provision by no means a pleasant one. The cooking-room may be large and spacious, but it is impossible to disconnect it from the accompaniments of heat and smoke. In the midst of that heat and that smoke the fairest and the richest voluntarily toil. How many delicate women have perished from disease contracted during the performance of this duty, and how many have permanently injured their eye-sight in the same cause!

In the city the beggar is disposed of by a handful of rice distributed by a growling servant. In the country hospitality is maintained by a table open to all comers. That the hungry man should be turned away, is deemed to be a sin equal in heinousness to an affront to a brahmin. So that a guest arriving at any hour of the day or night and requiring food must be immediately cared for. If the prepared food has been exhausted, the females of the house cheerfully resume their labours in order to provide a fresh supply. The task of furnishing food devolves wholly upon woman in India, and the precedents of the shasters enforcing this duty are numerous and irresistible. Annopurna, the wife of

Mahadeo, the god of gods, is represented with a ladle and a pot of boiled rice, freely distributing the staff of life to all comers, and her worship in our days is celebrated with an ample feast to the poor. There is a curious episode in the Mahabharat, which establishes the antiquity of the custom of the mistress of the house being bound to supply at any moment the wants of her guests. Draupadi, the wife of the five Pandavas, had one night retired to rest, when Durbasha, the most furious and ill-tempered amongst the *Rishis*, accompanied by his disciples, came and demanded food. It was the custom of Draupadi not to eat until all her guests had been fed; for there was this grace conceded to her by heaven that her stores could not be exhausted by any number of guests, so long as she did not herself eat. But on the evening on which Durbasha came, Draupadi had already eaten, little anticipating such an untimely call. The Rishi had purposely delayed his visit in order to upset the fame for hospitality of a woman favored by the gods. He knew that Draupadi had eaten; and he knew also that there was for this reason no more food in her house. The Rishi was notorious for being terrible in his curse, and Draupadi had therefore ample cause to be distracted. Only one grain of cooked rice was sticking to her cooking pot; this could not allay the hunger of half a dozen famished brahmins. Happily Krishna, the incarnation of Vishnu, was with the five brothers at the time, and he suggested that the holy men should be requested to proceed with their ablutions and evening worship, at the conclusion of which they would find their repast ready. Durbasha departed to a neighbouring stream, when Krishna asked Draupadi to give him the grain of cooked rice in her pot. This the god ate, and the act had the effect of making the Rishi and his disciples so surfeited without actually tasting any food, that they lay belching and in great pain all night on the banks of the stream. Thus by a miracle was the fame for hospitality of Draupadi preserved.

The duty of attending to the wants of every body else before the mistress of the house proceeds to satisfy her own hunger, is rigidly observed in the country, and its requirements have introduced without doubt that feeling, which brands the practice of husband and wife eating together as a scandal and a sin. Not only is the food prepared by the female members of the household, but it is also distributed by them. The grace and devotion with which beautiful maidens with their veils drawn over their heads carry the rice plates and the plates laden with fish and curry from seat to seat, dropping the grateful viands according to the age and eating capacity of

the feasters, cannot be described on paper. The jewelled arms are bare, whilst the body is closely enveloped in the thick folds of the flowing sari. The labour of the office may be conceived from the fact that the distributor must stoop in order to drop the food gently, without splash or rebound, upon the plates of the persons squatting upon the ground according to the native form of eating. The strongest men are often fatigued by such an exercise, but the soft, pliant, wiry female form seems to have been devised for the special purpose. After the male members of the family have been served, and with them any guests that may be present, the domestics are attended to and then the younger females. The grown up ladies eat last, for they must complete a lengthened worship of the household god before they can taste food or even water.

This worship demands varied employment. The room occupied by the god is carefully cleaned every morning by one of the female members of the family, generally a widow. The flowers with which the poojah is made are plucked and sorted, the plates of the god are rubbed, cleaned, and shining; incense is prepared; the rice for the offerings is jealously washed, so that no unclean thing may lurk amongst the grains; the fruits are cut and pared; the lamp is cleaned and lighted; and as many plates of offering are set out with every necessary article as there are grown-up women to make poojah. These preliminaries consume the best part of the forenoon, and a great part of the afternoon is consumed in the poojah, so that the elderly women of the family have to maintain a rigid fast till 3 o'clock in the day, when the entire household has been fed and when they proceed to eat themselves. The reason for the fast will be understood, when I say that it is irreligious to eat before poojah; it is a mortal sin in fact to do so, not even a drop of water can be passed down the throat before the daily worship. Eating over, the task of cleanliness is resumed; the body is washed and the cloth is washed and changed; the toilet is almost wholly neglected, for duties crowd upon a scanty leisure; sweetmeats for tiffin demand attention; they must be prepared, for mere rubbish is sold in the village market. Piles of flour are kneaded and baked or fried in ghee into bread; sweetmeats are made of the same materials; also curries to accompany the bread. As soon as the work is ended, preparations commence on the same scale with the morning for the night's supper, and the household does not retire to bed before midnight. On the occasion of poojahs the picture I have drawn is vastly magnified, the labour and anxiety of the mistress of the house are increased a hundred-fold. The cooking is superhuman,

but the lady is ably supported by relations and neighbours. It is only a fanatical faith and unbounded benevolence of heart which enable her to extract holiday gratification from such titan work. It may be safely asserted that the conditions described by me leave little time or inclination for a settled course of education.

I now come to the second division of my subject, *viz.*, the occupations of women in the middle ranks of society. In towns the generality of these women are usefully employed, they attend to all the in-door concerns of their husbands. Early blessed with children, the nursing and feeding and cleaning of these, unassisted by any large retinue of servants, severely tax their patience and their time. Whatever may be the means at the disposal of the Hindu lady for educating herself previously, after she has been elevated to the stage of motherhood (and it does not take her long to arrive at that happy condition) the distractions and the duties that devolve upon her render abortive any attempt to include her within the routine and circle of a systematic course of instruction. The young mother has little rest indeed at night. The frequent demands of the infant for food, the oft-occurring occasions during which the child requires to be cleaned and its bed to be changed, render uninterrupted sleep a blessing to be prayed for. From a hot night of unrest she often rises to a day of continued trouble. If the child happens to be ill, she fasts; if it has to be physicked, the vexation is greater than if the mother herself swallowed the medicine. When English medicine is had recourse to, with its perplexing programme of mixtures and pills and embrocations alternating in constant whirls by the hour, the mother is generally the sole dispenser of the doses, for the father is absent on his out-door work. Supposing the child to be well, there are a hundred little things that the mother is making for the baby; all the quilts which it uses are the product of her needle, the little pillows and cases she has made herself, the bed sheets she has hemmed. Most Bengali ladies in moderate circumstances are *au fait* in the sewing of bed clothes and musquito curtains. Recently, carpet work and the knitting of caps and socks and shoes have been added to their accomplishments. They can relish also a good Bengali play, and in the art of cookery they are remarkably advancing. It is no longer a simple soup or a dish of porridge which establishes the fame of a Hindu woman as a cook; she must master the mysteries of pillaos and know exactly the true color of a kabab in order to pass for learned in the art; some even aspire to the glory of preparing fowl curry and cutlets in exact imitation of the Great Eastern Hotel. Though the middle classes of Bengalis usually keep an establishment of

hired cooks, yet their wives are not altogether relieved from the duty of cooking. The ordinary rations of their families are of course produced without their help, but the dainty dishes are altogether their handiwork. The cook-rooms are invariably at the base of the house; but the lady has a small apartment on a higher floor, close to her sleeping room, where sweetmeats and bread and meat preparations and other interesting articles of food are got ready by her own individual labour. Even in joint families, this separation of delicate eating is effected with the tacit consent of a majority of the members. The wife cooks for her own children and husband that which is agreeable to them, in excess of the joint allowance of rice and fish. It is a delight to her to make her children sit in a ring round her husband, as she distributes the warm bread and sweetmeats, listening to the eulogies pronounced upon them. The joint ration is always miserably cooked and coarsely issued. It is the wife's labour that gives the Hindu a taste for delicacies. Frequently the lady has to exchange presents of fancy sweetmeats with friends and relations, and the taste and skill with which these are prepared are surprising. Fruits and flowers are imitated to perfection in flour and sugar; moulds are delicately carved in dried earth, with the aid of which the most grotesque shapes are given; *bon mots* and jests are stamped upon the finest specimens of confectionery; cheera or the parched beaten rice is made out of the kernels of cocoanuts, and a hundred transformations and illusions are practised upon the commonest articles; ships and gardens and houses and railway trains and ornaments are made with the stuff used to sweeten the pán-leaf. The beauty and skill of the designs would amuse, if not amaze, Europeans.

All this is the fancy work of the Hindu female. But there is holier work before her. On the sick bed her attendance is priceless; she seems to be formed by nature for the office of a nurse. Cool, patient, and self-denying for days and nights together, she hangs over the object of her solicitude; nothing escapes her eagle eye; every need of the patient is anticipated. Indeed the devotion and strength of character manifested on such occasions by the affectionate creature prove more efficient means of the patient's recovery than the prescriptions of the doctor. The rich who are thrown upon the attentions of their servants during severe illness seldom survive; the poor whose wives are their sole attendants on the sick bed generally escape death.

The third division of my subject, *viz.*, the employment of the poorer classes of women, embraces a large range. The multitude

of their occupations baffles the attempt to describe them faithfully. There is not a department of industry in which the tall bony Bengali woman of the lower ranks is not to be found. In towns mercantile firms dealing in seed produce, in mustard, in linseed, or in rice, give employment to myriads of Hindu women in their godowns. They clean, and winnow, and husk, and perform various other duties connected with the commercial enterprise of the city. They are largely employed besides in excavating tanks and canals and in house-building. They carry weights of the lighter descriptions, pound brick dust or soorki, weave baskets, spin cotton, make ropes, and perform delicate duties in steam and other manufactories. The bulk of women in Europe, who have to provide their subsistence by manual labour, are confined to the needle. But in India, where sewn clothes are worn only by the rich, this branch of female industry is wholly unknown. But the vast field of the small trade is open to Indian women instead. They sell fish and they sell vegetables; they keep shops and stalls, and the system of caste gives the female members of the various castes a monopoly of certain trades. Thus the barber's wife is very profitably occupied in paring the nails of the ladies of the zenana and in painting their feet and fingers with the red *álta*. The washerwoman does a good stroke of business in her line; the mehtrani defies competition. The wife of the Brahmin has the exclusive privilege of being employed as cook; the dairy woman sells milk with as large a mixture of water as she chooses, for her place is guaranteed to her by her caste; the weaver woman sells clothes; and the professional dancing girl amuses the zenana with songs and fantastic evolutions of the body. There are female doctors also who undertake to cure the diseases of infants by charmed waters and charmed oils and herbs and incantations. There is a class besides of feminine match-makers, who derive large gains by procuring advantageous marriages for families, the fees realised by them in various forms being considerable. The business was formerly the monopoly of a professional class of men called *Ghuttucks*, but the influence of the Hindu female has so remarkably increased of late in the disposal of the weightier concerns of domestic life, that the men, who necessarily had no access to the zenana, have been superseded by female members of the craft, and have almost passed away from cities and large towns. There is a class of women again, who go about from house to house exchanging looking-glasses, and combs, and brass and stone plates and pots, for old clothes, faded lace, and worn-out shawls. In the country the generality of poor women live by cleaning rice, draw-

ing water, or hiring themselves as casual servants to well-to-do families. A large number are employed also in farm work and agricultural pursuits. The women dig and hoe and weed and harvest, and the gains of such simple occupations suffice to provide their simpler food and clothing. There is not much distress observable in their condition, because their wants are remarkably few, and luxury is a thing of which they do not know the name. By the natural courtesy of the Bengali mind, female labourers are very mildly treated; for to raise hands against a woman is considered to be a sinful as well as an unmanly act.

It will be seen from the foregoing hurried sketch of the occupations of Bengali women that, with the sole exception of the women of the richest families in the city, the softer sex in Bengal are most agreeably and usefully employed. The Hindu wife not only obeys and loves, but also cherishes her husband, thereby fulfilling the marriage vow to the very letter. There is room indeed for improvement; a great deal of refinement could be introduced into her manners; she may be put upon higher descriptions of work. But that change in her destiny cannot be at once effected. Her surroundings must be altered before her habits can be safely or surely meddled with. There is a large spice of domesticity in her existing composition. It is to be feared it will pass away or be lost to a great extent, if other elements are introduced.

But the naked selfishness that may dictate a perpetuation of existing conditions is inconsistent with progress. Ideas have been introduced into the Hindu mind which, when fully developed, will chafe and batter against existing restraints. We must be prepared for the crisis that awaits us. The bulk of female work suits exactly the current state of Bengali life, an inactive state to which motion is imparted only by the demands of the senses. The Bengali people are content now to eat and to sleep. But the time is coming when these will be deemed only subordinate enjoyments. The mind will demand its food as strenuously by and by as the body now does, and a re-adjustment of female occupations must inevitably then be made. All the professions and duties, it will be observed, are more or less developed in the general class of Hindu women with the sole exception of that of teacher. That there is ample room for such a profession, who will deny? Many destitute widows of the higher castes whose occupation is essentially menial at the present moment, who draw water and clean rice or perform the painful drudgeries of the cooking-room, would be glad indeed to exchange this mode of life for the more honorable occupation of

a teacher. If schools are established in the villages contiguous to the metropolis, for it would not be safe to extend the experiment further inwards, on moderate scales, for the education of the class referred to with a view to their training as teachers, numbers will be found able and willing to profit by the opportunity. But the male element should be rigidly excluded from these schools, and a character imparted to them through the co-operation of the heads of the villages, of the strictest respectability. Female teachers thus trained will be a new power in Hindu sociology. Their services will be eagerly sought for as governesses in the families of the rich and even of those of the middle classes; they will impart a tone to the entire sex, a holy and an intellectual tone now sadly wanted. It will become the fashion soon enough to have a tutoress in the establishment of each household, and if the Bengal Social Science Association can be the means of promulgating such a fashion, the gain to refinement and civilization will be such as to entitle it to the lasting gratitude of the human race.

Babu Shamachurn Sircar expressed his general concurrence in the remarks which were contained in the paper.

Babu Kissory Chand Mittra had much pleasure in testifying to the correctness of the photograph of domestic life—not perhaps a very flattering one—which had been presented to the Association. There was a proverb about a bird fouling its own nest, but he would rather liken the writer to the skilful surgeon who only probed the wound to heal it. The Hindus had one great virtue which the paper had brought out. Charity was a conspicuous trait in the national character, and provision was made for the poor in all parts of the country.

The Revd. J. Long thought that a Poor Law would nevertheless be soon required in Bengal—not perhaps for the sake of professional beggars, but for a class above them who had greater claims to consideration.

4.—*Popular Bengali Proverbs, illustrating the social condition and opinions of the ryots, working classes, and women of Bengal.* *By* THE REVEREND J. LONG.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

The literature of Proverbs is in the present day assuming an important position among the agencies for sounding the depths of popular opinion and feeling, and as one of the best clues to the labyrinths of thought among the masses. Archbishop Trench, D'Israeli, Bohn, and a host of writers, have published works on the subjects, which have gained a wide circulation. Lord Bacon, three centuries ago, said, "Proverbs serve not only for ornament and delight, but also for action and civil uses, as being the edge tools of speech which cut and penetrate the knots of business and affairs." The truth of this has been exemplified in the Proverbs of Solomon, the Edda of the Scandinavians, the Poems of Hesiod, the writings of Cicero, down to the period of Erasmus, Scaliger, and a host of writers in different parts of Europe and Asia.

I have made a collection of more than 5,000 Bengali Proverbs;* a great number of which have been collected from the zenana, which is always the strong-hold of Native life and opinion. These Proverbs have been in current use for centuries, and show—in opposition to a common notion—that the Bengali was a nervous and expressive language centuries ago; in fact the style that is now coming into use among educated Native authors is pretty similar to that which prevailed for centuries before the English held a foot of land in the country. Many of them date probably from the era of Bulal Sen a thousand years ago. I give here a selection to show what treasuries remain in this folk-lore repository.

The Bengal ryot has been called a dumb animal; he is certainly a very patient one, for he seldom kicks against his oppressors; he has been consigned not only to serfdom, but to what generally accompanies it—ignorance, and on one ground that he is too stupid to learn, and that money for his education is only flung into a Serbonian bog. Now, that the Bengal ryots and working classes are not naturally stupid, but have great powers of

* A selection from them is now passing through the press.

discrimination and observation, could, we think, be shown from the information regarding plants and animals they acquire in every-day life, as well as from what forms the subject of our present essay, the proverbs, which express, as Proverbs generally do, shortness, sense, and salt, confirming the truth of what Disraeli says on this subject:—"Proverbs, those neglected fragments of wisdom which exist among all nations, still offer many interesting objects for the studies of the philosopher and the historian; and for men of the world still open an extensive school of human life and manners."

Caste.

Caste is gone and the stomach not filled. When a man has sacrificed his principles without gaining any advantage.

The nightingale lays its eggs in the crow's nest, but afterwards the young ones act according to their natural disposition.

When you like a person, what care you whether he is a sweeper or basket-maker?

Notice a dog and he'll leap on your neck.

Though you sing filthy songs on its banks, the Ganges is not defiled; a world of praises to the wicked, they will not be gentle.

Doctors and Lawyers.

Doctors in Bengal, as elsewhere, come in for their share of popular sarcasm.

An ignorant doctor is as bad as Yama, the god of death.
The death of one hundred patients makes a man a doctor;
The death of one thousand patients makes a man a physician.
This quack is only equal to a cow doctor.
Once a patient and a physician ever after.
The healthy man fears not the doctor.

Lawyers, too, have their share.

The Judge is changed, not so his decision.

The facility for litigation is denoted by

The Judge's door is open.

*During the trial the Judge is a Kází, when it is over, he is a pájí (or fool).**

* Sic. When the work is finished the carpenter is a scoundrel; or the river crossed and God forgotten.

He is a shell cutter's saw. This cuts both ways, like attorneys who act for both plaintiff and defendant. So the English proverb:— *Keeping with the hare, running with the hound.*

Domestic Life.

Who has no mother and whose wife is foul-mouthed, his house is like a jungle.

Where there are brothers there is division; referring to the quarrels about family property.

My husband cannot give me rice for food,
But he is clever in thumping me.
My home is a dish to bake me in.

A man beaten by his wife no more tells it than he does his losses.

I cannot see with patience a twinkling lamp or a prying husband.

No clothes to the back, a veil on the head.

Historical.

The Bengalis have generally little knowledge of or taste for history. Of the Mahrattas who desolated Bengal a century and a half ago, there is little trace except in these Proverbs:—

Bargír-hángam (the outrages of the Mahrattas).
The Mahratta and his army crossed the Damuda.

Of the Musulmans there are a few—

The Mullah runs as far as the mosque.
Ask the Kázi, the Hindu has no holidays.
In my mind I am a Sikh;
Yet I carry a brick under my arm.

Ridiculing the poor and proud Moslem nobles—

Like a Hindú's cow or a Musulman's bastard.
One is of little use, the other vicious and contemptible?

Imagery.

Like all Orientals the Bengali ryot loves to illustrate ethical truths through the medium of imagery. There is much poetic prose in the language of the common people. The following are some specimens:—

An upstart boasting of his family.
A devotee of yesterday with his top-knot down to his heels.

The French system of equality does not find much favor in the patriarchal system of the East—

Are the five fingers equal?

On the evil effects of gain won by oppression—

The ant's wings increase to its own destruction.
The friendship of the wicked is a dam of sand.

The bondage of the Mahájan or creditor is expressed by

A goat tied up is at the will of even a child.

A mere plodder or drudge is *an oilman's ox.*

The man who cares little for his parents when living, yet spends much money on their shradh or funeral ceremony—

While alive he gives not a slap of his fingers for him,
When dead he covers his head with fragrant grass.

Poor people wishing for fine furniture, &c.—

Living in a hovel in a rice field,
Wishing for a bedstead.

An useless gift is denoted by *giving a blind cow to a Brahmin.*

The difficulty of separating things when once united is expressed by

Sand mixed up with molasses.

Old women proud of their ornaments—

A gray head decorated with vermilion spots.

A fellow without shame—

A crow with its bill cut off.

Uncertain affection—

A witch's love.

Applying different treatment according to the persons you have to deal with—

The palm thrives when its leaves are kept uncleft,
The date thrives when its leaves are cut.
Even if taken up to heaven, the pedal would continue to husk the rice.
Were a woman to go to heaven, she would take her cow with her.
*As long as he does not see the devil, he does not use Ram's name.**
In separating the hair from the blanket nothing remains.
Water never mixes with oil.
The Blacksmith knows what he will make of the iron.

* So when the devil was ill, the devil a monk would be, when the devil was well, the devil a monk was he.

A looking glass in the hand of a monkey.
Which is more useful, the nose or the breath?
He is a dwarf, yet he tries to catch the moon.
He cuts at the root, yet waters the top.
Having an Almanac, yet guessing lucky days.
Using a looking glass to look at one's bracelets.
An ox without a tail pushing at an elephant.
The sieve says to the needle, You have a large hole.
The poor man's word like the tortoise's head.
The birdlime falls on the moustache.
They pour oil into the mouth.
Sprinkling salt on a wound,—like "Job's comforters."
One is impaled;
Another counts the joints of the stake.

Any one that has seen a crowd of Bengalis watching a fire without lending any aid, can understand this—

Commence with putting on a load of cotton, you may afterwards make the man draw a harrow.

Inserting the thin edge of the wedge—
Milk once drawn re-enters not the dug.

What's done is done—
The Churuck Puja is spoiled by many devotees.
So, too many cooks spoil the broth.
He caught a frog, but broke his stick.
In promise placing the moon in your hands.
He whose relation has been devoured by an alligator, is terrified when he sees a log.
So, a burnt child dreads the fire.

Unless there be crows, will there be no morning? alluding to those who think a work cannot be accomplished without them.

The bore is come up the river, therefore punish the potter.
So, the Godwin Sands and Tenterden steeple.

Knowledge.

Knowledge is valued to a certain extent as is shown by the 40,000 vernacular village schools in Bengal and Behar.

As is the master, so the scholar.
If the buttermilk be sour, the cocoanut splits.
If the bamboo is not bent when young, when of full age it makes a harsh sound.

Miscellaneous.

A body with an ugly nose, yet named lotus' eye.
The lame man's foot slips in the hole.
If the stomach be empty, blushing is of no consequence.
Going to Ceylon for a few grains of turmeric.
Weeding out the rogues, the village is a desert.
Like digging a well when the house is on fire.
Scented oil on the head, the body so filthy as to drive away sleep.
The sight of a horse makes the traveller lame.
When a fool tries to be witty, he gives you a stroke with his scythe.
The fool not knowing how to walk, cries out the road is rough.
Is there a fellow so stupid as to wish to hear a thing, when he can see it with his own eyes?
Droppings from his own thatch drown him, yet he would cross the ocean.
You can never tame the wild.
Oil and water can never mix.
Can the fishing boat hold the ship's mast?

Natural Affection.

No people exceed the Hindus in the strength of their natural affections; even "sati" was regarded, like duelling in Europe, as a point of honor.

Who venerates his mother gains salvation.
Happiness is found in the mother's bosom.

Oppression.

The relation of the carving knife to the pumpkin.
The love the Musulman has to his fowl,
The same the Zemindar has to the ryot,
So the English, As sheep fattened for the slaughter.

The twig is harder than its parent bamboo. Showing that minor agents are more oppressive than the principals.

The tiger killing the cow.
No gain, but the punch of a stick.

Talking, gratitude.

That the Bengali is too much a race of talkers is acknowledged in the following:—

In talk a tiger, in fighting a lizard.
Lazy in work, powerful in eating, in word he sets every thing on fire.

Bengalis have been accused of having neither gratitude nor a word for it in their language, though there are such terms as *Kritagyata*, the sense of a favor.—*Nimakharam* one who destroys his salt.

Whose food he eats, his praises he sings.
Whose salt he eats, his qualities he respects.

Truth, Honesty.

It is only the shrimp who moves backward.
The house of Yam (Death) is a razor's edge.
For the double minded there is no salvation.
The thief and the hog go the same road.

Women.

Women of course are treated very sarcastically—
Woman's cunning brings on a deluge of destruction.

Woman eats twice as much as a man. And is four times as cunning.

Women are never straightforward.
Tell a woman a secret, she will publish it.

A woman with a high forehead, long teeth, crooked feet, whoever marries her, destroys three generations.

Like the boasting of the chaukidar before his wife.
It is only when a woman dies and is turned to ashes, that we know certainly she is free from fault.

He gets no place in the assembly,
On returning home he thrashes his wife.
The wife recognises not the Brahman in the husband.

So the English, Too much familiarity breeds contempt.

Babu Greesh Chunder Ghose said that Bengali literature abounded in proverbs, and that weddings were a fruitful source of them, it being the custom for the bridesmaids to exhibit their wit in this way, and to test severely the intellect of the bridegroom by asking him to explain them. There was one proverb, however, which the writer had erroneously translated. "During the trial the judge is a Kazi, when it is over, he is a fool." The true meaning of the proverb was this: speaking of a selfish and ungrateful man, "When he wants anything from me, he treats me like a judge, but when he has got it, I am nobody at all."

Babu Shamachurn Sircar supported the writer in his opinion that Bengali literature was of no recent date. The Ramayana dated back several centuries, and he (the speaker) had seen Bengali Sanads which were some hundred years old. At the same time prose writing was doubtless of later date than poetry.

The Revd. Mr. Long said he had not been able to find any proverbs relating to the English conquest of the country, and he should be glad to be made acquainted with any which existed.

LIST OF PRESENTATIONS.

From the Government.

SELECTIONS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

No. XXIX.—Progress Report of the Forests of the Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces, 1858 to 1860.

XXX.—Report on the Bustar and Kharondee Dependencies of the Raepore District.

XXXV.—Report on the Affairs of Khelat from 1857 to 1860, &c.

LIII.—Report on the Revenue Settlement of Nursingpore District, Central Provinces.

LV.—Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Dumoh District, Jubbulpoor Division, Central Provinces, effected by A. M. Russell, Esq.

LXI.—Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Saugor District, Jubbulpore Division, Central Provinces, effected by Lieut. Col. J. N. Maclean, 1867.

LXII.—Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Bhundara District, Central Provinces, effected by A. J. Lawrence, Esq., C. S.—1868.

SELECTIONS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

No. VI.—Report on the Tin and other Mineral productions of the Tenasserim Provinces.

XI.—Report on the Political States, S. W. Frontier Agency; Revenue Administration of Assam and the Wild Tribes bordering the South Frontier of Chittagong.

XIII.—Notes on the Manufacture of Salt in the Tumlook Agency; Report on the Coal Mines of Lakadong, in the Jynteah Hills; Memorandum of the Results of an Examination of the Gold Dust and Gold from Shy-gwar.

XIV.—Papers relating to the establishment of the Presidency College of Bengal, 1854.

XVII.—Report on Darjeeling by W. B. Jackson, Esq., C. S.

XVIII.—Correspondence relating to the Suppression of Dacoity in Bengal.

List of Presentations.

No. XIX.—Papers relating to the proposed Canal between Ooltadangah and Dhappa; Improvement of the Soonderbun Channels; Opening of a communication with the sea by the river and a direct water communication between the Ganges and Calcutta.

XX.—Papers relating to the South-West Frontier, comprising reports on Purulia, or Manbhoom, Chotanagpore, sub-divisions of Kornda, Hazareebaugh, Shumbulpore, and South-West Frontier Agency, by H. Ricketts, Esq., C. S.

XXI.—Correspondence relating to the Suppression of Dacoity in Bengal, 1855.

XXIII.—Papers relating to some frontier tribes on the N. E. Border of Assam; Topographical Report on the Political Districts of Raigurh, Sarinegurh, Sonepore and Sumbulpore, by Mr. J. P. Shortt.

XXIV.—Correspondence relating to the Ferry Funds in the Lower Provinces.

XXV.—Report on the Teak Plantations of Bengal, by Dr. H. Falconer.

XXVI.—Reports on the Suppression of Dacoity in Bengal for 1855-56.

XXIX.—Report on the rivers of Bengal, by Captain W. S. Sherwill; Papers of 1856-57-58 on the Damoodah embankments, &c.

XXX.—Reports on the Districts of Pooree and Balasore, by H. Ricketts, Esq.

XXXI.—Reports relating to the Suppression of Dacoity in Bengal for 1856-57 to 1858.

XXXII.—Returns relating to Publications in the Bengalee Language in 1857.

XXXIII.—Papers relating to Indigo Cultivation in Bengal, in three parts.

XXXIV.—Report relating to the Suppression of Dacoity in Bengal for 1859.

XXXV.—Papers relative to the Cuttack Rivers, Part II; Plates and Sketches to Part II of the above Number.

XXXVI.—Papers relating to Irrigation in Bengal and the Maghassani Hills, as a Sanitarium.

XXXVII.—Papers relating to Tea Cultivation in Assam.

XXXVIII.—Papers relating to a Sanitarium upon Mount Parisnath.

XXXIX.—Papers relating to the disturbances in the Cossyah and Jynteah Hills in two Parts.

SELECTIONS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

No. II.—Papers relating to Public Instruction, compiled by Alexander J. Arbuthnot, Esq.

VI.—Correspondence relative to Proposals for Organising Permanent Corps of Coolies for employment on Road Works; General Report of the Road Department.

List of Presentations.

No. IX.—Revenue Survey.

X.—Report on the Operations of the Indian Mints from 1841-42 to 1852-53.

XXXVII.—Correspondence on the Scale of Passenger Fares and Goods Tariff for the Madras Railway.

XLIV.—Report of the Railway Department for 1856.

L.—Report on the Agricultural Exhibitions in the Provinces in the year 1857.

LI.—Report on Vaccination for 1857.

LII.—Revised rules respecting Applications for grants-in-aid of schools unconnected with Government.

LIII.—Papers relating to the General Revenue Survey of the Madras Presidency.

LIII*a*.—Report of the Railway Department for 1857.

LIV.—Papers relating to the Budget of Public Works for 1857-58.

LV.—Report on Civil Dispensaries for 1857.

LVII.—Annual Report of the Madras Medical College for 1857-58.

LVIII.—Annual Report of the Madras Medical College for 1858-59.

LIX.—Administration Report of the Madras Public Works for 1857-58.

LXI.—Administration Report of the Madras Public Works for 1858-59.

LXIII.—Report of the Director of Public Instruction for 1858-59.

SELECTIONS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.

No. XVIII.—Correspondence relative to the Introduction of a Rough Survey and Revenue Settlement in the Province of Sind.

XXIX.—Correspondence regarding the Concealment by the hereditary officers and others of the Revenue Records of the former Government and the Remedial Measures in progress.

XXX.—Correspondence exhibiting the nature and use of the Poona Duftur, &c.

XXXV.—Report by the Collector of Kurrachee on the Hilly Region forming the western part of that Collectorate, &c.

XXXVIII.—Correspondence relating to the tenure of the Possessions in the Deccan held by His Highness Jyajee Rao Sindia.

XLV.—Report on the upper portion of the Eastern Narra, and the feasibility of restoring it as a Permanent Stream, &c.

XLVIII.—A short review of Mr. Plowden's Report on the Salt Excise of the Bombay Presidency, &c.

L.—Correspondence relating to Canal Clearances in the Hyderabad Collectorate in 1857-58.

List of Presentations.

SELECTIONS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE GOVT. OF N. W. PROVINCES.

No. XLV.—Report on the Working of the Government Tea Plantations in Dherah Dhoon and Kumayon during the year 1865-66, &c.

CIV.—Selected Minutes by the Hon'ble M. Elphinstone in the Military Department for 1820-27.

Report on the diet of Prisoners in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency.

Report on the New Police in Bengal, by C. F. Carnac.
Report of the Bengal Police for 1864, by C. F. Carnac.
Report of the Bengal Police for 1865, by Major Pughe.

Report relating to the Suppression of Dacoity in Bengal for 1861-62, by G. Plowden.

Report on the Police of Calcutta and its suburbs for 1866.
Report of the Court of Small Causes of Calcutta, 1866-67.

Report (final) on the Police Establishment of the Lower Provinces, by Colonel Bruce.

Report on the Police Establishment of Chota Nagpore, by Colonel Bruce.
Report on the Committee on Prison Discipline, 1838.
Rules for the Better Management of Public Jails.
Moorshedabad Murder Case.

Rules by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal for the Superintendence and Management of Jails in Lower Provinces.

Judicial Statistics of the Provinces subject to the Government of Bengal.
Rules for the Control and Management of the Bhowanipore Asylum.
Female Infanticide in the Doab.
The Damathat or Laws of Menoo.
The Mahomedan Law of Sale.
The Magistrate's and Collector's Manual.
Sutherland's Bengal Regulations.

The Acts of the Legislative Council of India from 1833 to 1861, 3 Volumes, by G. S. Fagan.

The Acts of the Legislative Council of India from 1833 to 1861 repealed and expired by G. S. Fagan.

Report of the High Court, North-Western Provinces, on administration of Criminal Justice during 1866.

Report of the High Court, North-Western Provinces, on the administration of Civil Justice for 1866.

Report on the Administration of Police for 1866.
Report on the Administration of Police for 1867.

Report on the Administration of Act XXXI of 1861 in North-Western Provinces for 1866.

Report on the Condition and Management of Jails, North-Western Provinces, for 1866.

Report of the Full Bench Rulings by the High Court, North-Western Provinces, from June to December 1866.

List of Presentations.

Report of the Full Bench Rulings by the High Court, North-Western Provinces, from January to June 1867.

Report of the High Court, North-Western Provinces, Vol. I, Nos. 1 to 5.
Circular Orders of the Nizamut Adawlut, North-Western Provinces.

Indian Infanticide, by J. C. Browne.
Notes on the Laws of Bengal, by Anandaram Dhakial Phookan
Administration of Justice in India, by W. G. Morley.

Moore's Investigation and Report regarding the Female Infanticide in the Benares Division.

Extracts relating to Hindu Widow Marriage Acts.

Moore's Indian Appeal Cases, Vol. 21.
Report on Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency, 1856-57.
Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency, 1857-58.

Report (last) of the Commissioners of National Education for the Colony of Victoria.

Sir Frederick Halliday's Minute on Public Instruction.
Report on the Progress of Education, North-Western Provinces, for 1866-67.
Report of the Dispensaries, North-Western Provinces, for 1866.
Report of the Transactions of the Native Hospital, 1843.
Measures for Prevention of Cholera among the European Troops.
Report on the Charitable Dispensaries of Bengal for 1865.
Report on the Committee on the Drainage of Calcutta, 1857.
Report on the Epidemic and Intermittent Fever, by Dr. E. J. Eliot.
Report on the Vaccine Operation, Agra Division, 1858-59, by a Christian.
Report on Vaccination, 1852.
Report on Vaccination, North-Western Provinces.
Report on the attack of Cholera in the Central Prison at Agra.

Revenue, Meteorological, Statements of North-Western Provinces from 1844 to 1850.

Papers relating to Sanitary Establishments.

Returns from the Commissioner of Cuttack, on the mortality caused by the famine in Orrissa.

Analysis of the Mineral Springs and Various Well Waters in the Bombay Presidency, by W. Giraud.

Report on the Indigo Commission appointed under Act XI of 1860.

Report on the Commission appointed by the East India Company to visit the Rivers Danube and Rhone.

Report on the Committee appointed to enquire into the state of the River Hooghly.

Report on the Mahanuddee River, by A. Cotton.

Report (Annual) of the Marine Department and Dock-yard under Bengal Government for 1866 and 1867, by Captain H. Howe.

Report on the Oils of Southern India, by Lieutenant H. P. Hox.
Report by the Juries of the London Exhibition of 1851.
Report by the Juries of the Madras Exhibition of 1855.

List of Presentations.

Report of the Committees of Consignments to the Madras Exhibition of 1857.

Papers on Doab Canal and Dehra Dhoon Water-courses, by Lieutenant Colonel P. T. Cautley.

Classified Catalogue of the Raw Produce of the Madras Exhibition of 1859.

Official and Descriptive Catalogue of Madras Exhibition of 1857.

Papers regarding the Irrigation of the Agra District.

Statement showing the roads in the Province of Bengal under the Department of Public Works.

Facts for Factories, being letters on Practical Subjects suggested by experience in Bombay.

Trade and Navigation Accounts for 31st October 1866.

Minute by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal on the Report of the Indigo Commission.

Tabular Statements of the Commerce and Shipping of Singapore.
Correspondence on the Patna Industrial Institution.
Memorandum upon the Pauchontee or the Indian Gutta Tree.
New Indian Government Paper Currency.
The cultivation of the Orleans Staple Cotton.

The English version of the Urdú or Hindustanee exposition of the New Indian Paper Currency.

On the improvement of Bengal Pottery, by W. O'Shaughnessy.

Hand Book of Cotton Cultivation in the Madras Presidency, by J. Talboys Wheeler.

Cotton Hand Book in Bengal, by J. G. Medlicot.
Italian Irrigation, by Baird Smith, 2 Vols.
New Customs Tariff.
Notes on the Propagation and Cultivation of the Medicinal Cinchonas.
Catalogue of Contribution from India to the London Exhibition, 1862.
Report on the Administration of North Cachar, by W. J. Allan.
Report on the Administration of Cossyah and Jynteah Hills, by W. J. Allan.
Report on the Administration of the District of Cachar, by W. J. Allan.
Report on the Administration of Calcutta Municipality for 1866.
Report (Geological) on the Kymore Mountains, by D. H. Williams.
Report (Geological) on the Damoodah Valley.

Report (Statistical and Geographical) of the 24-Pergunnahs, by Major R. Smyth.

Report (Statistical and Annual) of Hazareebaugh District, by Captain G. H. Thompson.

Report on the Settlement of Dehra Dhoon, by A. Ross.

Report from the Civil Engineers on the more Important Works for 1850.

Report on the Improvement of Kanawha and incidentally the Ohio River, by C. Eliot.

Report on the Province of Assam.

List of Presentations.

Papers on Stone and Timber of Gwalior Territories, by Major A. Cuningham.

The Annals of Indian Administration for March and June 1867.

Ditto . ditto ditto for 1865-66.

The Indian Official Thesarus, by M. E. Townsend.

Rules and Formulæ for the competition and solution of Various Hydraulic Problems, by D. Nebille.

Rules for the future Appropriation of the Surplus Ferry Collection.

Notes by Major Haly for the guidance of Troops.

A few words relative to the late Mutiny of the Bengal Army, by Shek Hydut Ali.

Minute by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal on the Mutinies as they affected the Lower Provinces.

Correspondence connected with the removal of Mr. W. Tayler from the Commissionership of Patna.

Correspondence between the Government of India and the Asiatic Society relative to the establishment of a Museum.

A few words on Studs, by Captain C. D'Oly.
Slope Tables for the use of Canal Departments, N. W. P.
Sâkantala, by M. Williams.
Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Parts I to III.
Index to the above.
Dictionary of Law Terms in Bengalee, by Revd. J. Robinson.
Memorandum of the Land Measures of the Madras Presidency.
Treaties, Engagements, and Sunnuds, 5 Vols.
A Manual of Medical Jurisprudence, by Norman Chevers, M. D.
The Fibrous Plants of India, by Dr. Royle.

Instructions to the Registrars of Shipping under the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854.

Revision of Talook Accounts of the Madras Presidency.
Maximum and Minimum, by Ram Chundra.
Differential Calculus, by Ram Chundra.
Topography and Statistics of Dacca, by Taylor.
Instructions to Measuring Surveyors.

Papers relating to the Revision of Village Accounts of the Madras Presidency.

Illustrations of Himalayan Plants, by J. D. Hooker, M. D.

Oldham's Geology of Khasia Hills.

Posthumous Papers bequeathed to the East India Company and printed by order of Government.

Posthumous Papers bequeathed to the East India Company and printed by Bengal Government, Icones Planterum Asiaticarum, Part III.

Posthumous Papers bequeathed to the East India Company and printed by Bengal Government, Icones Planterum Asiaticarum, Part IV.

List of Presentations.

Posthumous Papers bequeathed to the East India Company, Natulæ ad Plantas Asiaticas, Part III.

Posthumous Papers bequeathed to the East India Company, Natulæ ad Plantas Asiaticas, Part IV.

From the Author.

Social Science for India, by Syud Shurfooddeen.

Social Science, being the Journal and Sessional proceedings of the National Association, from Miss Carpenter, 2 copies.

Report of the Association of Friends for the Promotion of Social Improvement, from Baboo Kissory Chand Mittra.

Petition of the British Indian Association to the House of Commons, 1859.

Proceedings of the Native Reading and Debating Club, Etwah, from Baboo Dino Nath Gangoley.

Rules of the Native Reading and Debating Club, Etwah, from Baboo Dino Nath Gangoley.

The Tenth Annual Report of the Family Literary Club, from Baboo Prosad Dass Mullick.

Adal-Ahal-I-Farang, from Nawab Nubbe Bux Khan.

On Prison Discipline and Statistics in Lower Bengal, by F. J. Mouat, M. D.

Interest Tables from W. W. Beveridge.

Suggestions on Prison Discipline, from Miss Carpenter.

David Waldie's address on the objects of the Society and the means for carrying them out, from the Secretary, Baranagore Social Improvement Society.

Address on the Treatment of Criminals in the Punjab, by Major G. Hutchinson.

Report of the Benevolent Institution for 1866.

Cholera and its Symptoms, from S. G. Chuckerbutty, M. D.

Fourier's Works, from G. Poole.

Selections from the *Government Gazette*, 1784-85-86-87 and 88, by Hon'ble W. S. Seton-Karr.

The indigenous drugs of India, from Baboo Kanny Lall Dey.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Abdul Latíf, Moulvi, Calcutta.
Abul Hasan, Syed, Gya.
Amir Hasan, Syed, Bhaugulpore.
Anderson, J., M. D., Calcutta.
Atkinson, W. S., Calcutta.
Azimuddin, Syed, C. S. I., Patna.

Bainbridge, A. J. R., C. S., Burdwan.
Banerjee, Durgá Goti, Patna.
———, Gopal Chandra, Calcutta.
———, Revd. K. M., Calcutta.
———, Kunja Lál, Calcutta.
———, Sasi Pada, Calcutta.
———, W. C., Calcutta.
Barton, Revd. J., Calcutta.
Bayley, E. C., C. S., Calcutta.
———, S. C., C. S., Calcutta.
Beebee, M. L., Calcutta.
Best, A. V., M. D., Calcutta.
Beveridge, H., C. S., England.
Beverley, H., C. S., Calcutta.
Bignold, T. F., C. S., Balasore.
Blanford, H. F., Calcutta.
Blochman, J. B., Calcutta.
Bose, Bhagwan Chundra, Furreedpore.
——, Chunder Nauth, M. A., Calcutta.
——, Koilas Chunder, Calcutta.
——, Luckhi Narain, Calcutta.
——, Nil Madhob, Calcutta.
Bourke, W. F., Calcutta.
Bowerman, J. G., Calcutta.
Bradford, C. V., Hooghly.
Branson, J. H. A., Calcutta.
Bromehead, Revd. E., Calcutta.
Brown, T., Dinagepore.
Burral, Prem Chand, Calcutta.
Bysack, Gour Das, Purulia.

Campbell, G., C. S., Nagpore.
———, J., Assam.
Carpenter, Mary, England.
Carstairs, J. S., C. S., Calcutta.
Chatterjee, Bunkim Chandra, Barroepore.
———, Chandra Kumár, Calcutta.
———, Khettra Mohan, Calcutta.
———, Tran Nath, Calcutta.
Chevers, Norman, M. D., Calcutta.
Chuckerbutty, S. G., M. D., Calcutta.
Chundra, Sree Nauth, Calcutta.
Coates, J. M., M. D., Hazareebagh.
Crawford, J. A., C. S., Calcutta.
Croft, A. C., Calcutta.

Daliluddin, Moulvi, Calcutta.
Dall, Revd. C. H., Calcutta.
Das, Guru Churn, Jungypore, N. W. P.
Davis, W. P., Calcutta.
De, Kanny Lall, G. M. C. B., Calcutta.
—, Lal Behary, Revd., Berhampore.
—, Netra Lal, Burdwan.
—, Nilmoni, Calcutta.
Deb, Hurrendra Krishna Kumar, Calcutta.
——, Koilas Chandra, Calcutta.
——, Shib Chander, Connagár.
Dickens, P., C. S., Calcutta.
Dickinson, J. C., Calcutta.
Donough, T. A., Dukhin Shabazpore.
Driberg, Revd. J., Calcutta.
Drummond, Hon'ble R., Bareilly.
Duff, P. W., Calcutta.
Dutt, Debendra Chundra, Calcutta.
——, Kedar Nath, Purneah.
——, Khetra Nath, Calcutta.
——, Uday Chunder, Pooree.

Ewart, J., M. D., Calcutta.

Fagan, G. S., Calcutta.
Farquhar, T., M. D., Calcutta.
Fawcus, J., M. D., Calcutta.
Fayrer, J., M. D., Calcutta.
Fenn, S., Calcutta.
Field, G., Patna.

Ganguli, Dino Nath, Etawah, N. W. P.
Garrett, C. B., C. S., Arrah.
Gay, E., Calcutta.
Ghose, Gopi Mohan, Calcutta.
——, Gopi Nath, Bhaugulpore.
——, Grish Chundra, Calcutta.
——, Jadu Nath, Calcutta.
——, Man Mohan, Calcutta.
——, Mothoor Nath, Bhaugulpore.
Ghosal, Issur Chundra, Calcutta.
Gray, H. A., Calcutta.
Grinlay, W. H., C. S., Hooghly.

Harkness, T. F., C. S., N. W. Provinces.
Harding, Miss, Calcutta.
Harris, H. N., Burdwan.
Harrison, H. L., C. S., Calcutta.
Heerjeebhoy Manockjee Rustomjee, Calcutta
Hirons, J. G., Calcutta.
Hopkins, J. A., Raneegunge.

Jackson, Hon'ble L. S., C. S., Calcutta.
Jennings, S., Calcutta.

Kellner, G. W., Calcutta.
Knight, J. B., Calcutta.

Law, Roma Nath, Calcutta.
Lazarus, C., Calcutta.
Lindsay, A. M., Calcutta.
Lloyd, T. H., Calcutta.
Lobb, S., Hooghly.
Locke, H. H., Calcutta.
Long, Revd. J., Calcutta.
Lynch, S. S., M. D., Calcutta.

Mackenzie, A., C. S., Calcutta.
Malleson, G. B., Major, Calcutta.
Manockjee Rustomjee, Calcutta.
Mittra, Grish Chandra, Calcutta.
———, Kashishur, Calcutta.
———, Kissory Chand, Calcutta.
———, Peary Chand, Calcutta.
———, Rajendra, Calcutta.
———, Ram Chandra, Calcutta.
Mojumdar, Borodakánt, Midnapore.
Moses, G. O., Calcutta.
Mouat, F. J., M. D., Calcutta.
Mukerjee, Bhoodeb, Chinsurah.
———, Juggoda Nund, Calcutta.
———, Kaminee Comud, Calcutta.
———. Khettra Nath, Calcutta.
Mullick, Obhoy Churn, Calcutta.
———, Prosad Das, Calcutta.
———, Subul Chandra, Calcutta.
———, Tarak Nath, Calcutta.
Muir, Sir William, K. C. S. I., Calcutta.
Murray, Mrs., Calcutta.

Nandi, Chandra Nath, Gowhatty.
Norman, Hon'ble J. P., Calcutta.
———, F. B., Major, Calcutta.

Pauray, Gopee Bullub, Nussecrabad.
Payne, A. J., M. D., Calcutta.
Phear, Hon'ble J. B., Calcutta.
Piffard, C., Calcutta.
Prodhan, Indro Narain, Kukrohatty.
Puckle, J., Major, Bangalore.

Remfrey, J., Calcutta.
Robb, G., Calcutta.
Roberts, J. B., Calcutta.
Robinson, Revd. J., Calcutta.
———, T. M., Calcutta.
Roussac, A. G., Calcutta.
Roy, Bhupati, Sylhet.
——, Bissun Chand, Benares.
——, Chunder Nath Kumar, Nattore.
——, Gobind Nath, Moharajáh, Nattore.
——, Luchmee Chand, Benares.
——, Nurshing Das, Monghyr.
——, Promotho Nath Kumar, Rajshahye.
——, Prosunno Kumar, Calcutta.
——, Sharoda Prosad, Burdwan.

Samuells, W. L., Lieutenant, Hazareebaugh.
Sanyal, Dinobundhu, Monghyr.
Sarafuddin, Syed, Lucknow.
Saranji, U. C., Cuttack.
Sarkar, Eshan Chundra, Calcutta.
———, Shama Churn, Calcutta.
———, Sree Comar, Calcutta.
Seetul Persad, Moonshee, Benares.
Sen, Kesub Chandra, Calcutta.
—, Madhob Chandra, Calcutta.
—, Morali Dhur, Calcutta.
—, Sree Nath, Calcutta.
Shome, Mohendra Lal, Calcutta.
Singh, Kali Prosunno, Calcutta.
Smith, G., Serampore.
Souttar, W. M., C. S., Magurah.
Stephen, C., Delhi.
Stephenson, Revd. C., Calcutta.
Stevens, C. C., C. S., Maldah.
Stewart, Duncan J., Lieutenant, Bukloh, Punjab.
Stuart, Revd. E. C., Calcutta.
Subbodhicari, Prosunno Coomar, Calcutta.

Tagore, Debendra Nath, Calcutta.
———, Dijendra Nath, Calcutta.
———, Uttendra Nundun, Calcutta.
Tawney, C., Calcutta.
Temple, Sir Richard, C. S. I., Calcutta.
Tonnere, F., Calcutta.
Tottenham, L. R., C. S., Howrah.
Trevor, T., Madras.
Turnbull, R., Calcutta.

Wheeler, J. T., Calcutta.
Wilson, J., Calcutta.
———, R. H., C. S., Patna.
Woodrow, H., M. A., Calcutta.
Wynn, W. T., Calcutta.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bengal Social Science Association.

EDITED BY

THE GENERAL SECRETARIES.

SECOND SESSION.

July 1868.

VOL. II. — PART 2.

CALCUTTA:
W. NEWMAN AND COMPANY,
3 DALHOUSIE SQUARE, E.

1868.

BENGAL SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

Patrons.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AND GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA.

HIS HONOR THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

President.

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE PHEAR.

Vice-Presidents.

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE NORMAN.

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE DWARKANATH MITTRA.

Council.

W. S. ATKINSON, ESQ.
T. FARQUHAR, M.D.
J. B. KNIGHT, ESQ.
THE REV. J. LONG.
A. MACKENZIE, ESQ., C.S.
F. J. MOUAT, M.D.
SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I.
MAJOR F. B. NORMAN.
S. G. CHUCKERBUTTY, M.D.
THE REV. PROFESSOR K. M. BANERJEA.
BABU JUGGODANUND MOOKERJEA.
„ RAM CHUNDER MITTRA.
„ GREESH CHUNDER GHOSE.
MANOCKJEE RUSTOMJEE, ESQ.
MOULVI ABDOOL LUTEEF KHAN BAHADOOR.

Secretaries.

H. BEVERLEY, ESQ., C.S., *Gone to England.*

W. M. SOUTTAR, ESQ., C.S., *Officiating.*

BABU PEARY CHAND MITTRA.

Sections.

I.—JURISPRUDENCE AND LAW.

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE NORMAN., *Chairman.*
A. MACKENZIE, ESQ., C.S.
J. H. A. BRANSON, ESQ.
MOULVI ABDOOL LUTEEF KHAN BAHADOOR.
BABU ROMANATH LAW.
THE HON'BLE DWARKANATH MITTRA.
BABU CHUNDERNATH BOSE, M.A.
THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARIES OF THE ASSOCIATION.
BABU SHAMA CHURN SIRCAR, *Secretary.*

II.—EDUCATION.

W. S. ATKINSON, ESQ., *Chairman.*
SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I.
H. WOODROW, ESQ.
THE REV. J. LONG.
BABU KISSORY CHAND MITTRA.
„ RAM CHUNDER MITTRA.
„ BHUDEB MOOKERJEA.
MOULVI ABDOOL LUTEEF KHAN BAHADOOR.
THE REV. K. M. BANERJEA.
THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARIES OF THE ASSOCIATION.
H. H. LOCKE, ESQ. } *Secretaries.*
BABU CHUNDERNATH BOSE, M.A. }

III.—HEALTH.

T. FARQUHAR, M.D.—*Chairman.*
MAJOR G. B. MALLESON.
„ F. B. NORMAN.
J. EWART, M.D.
J. ANDERSON, M.D.
A. V. BEST, M.D.
NORMAN CHEVERS, M.D.
S. G. CHUCKERBUTTY, M.D.
J. FAWCUS, M.D.
A. J. PAYNE, M.D.
J. FAYRER, M.D.
BABU KOYLAS CHUNDRA BOSE.
THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARIES OF THE ASSOCIATION.
BABU KANNY LAL DEY, *Secretary.*

IV.—ECONOMY AND TRADE.

T. FARQUHAR, M.D. *Chairman.*
MAJOR F. B. NORMAN.
J. B. KNIGHT, ESQ.
MANOCKJEE RUSTOMJEE, ESQ.
A. MACKENZIE, ESQ., C.S.
J. G. BOWERMAN, ESQ.
C. LAZARUS, ESQ.
BABU GREESH CHUNDER GHOSE.
THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARIES OF THE ASSOCIATION.
JAMES WILSON, ESQ., *Secretary.*

RULES.

Object.

I. The object of the Association is to promote the development of Social Science in the Presidency of Bengal.

Membership.

II. Any person who pays an annual subscription of Twelve Rupees, or a life subscription of One Hundred Rupees, shall be a member of the Association.

III. Every member shall have the right of attending and voting at the annual, quarterly, and special meetings of the Association, of being eligible to any of its offices, and of receiving a copy of its Transactions.

IV. The annual subscription shall be payable in advance on the first day of January in each year.

V. Any member whose annual subscription shall not be paid before the end of the year for which it is due, shall be liable to have his name struck off the list of members by the Council.

VI. Any member desirous of withdrawing from the Association must communicate his wish to the Secretaries in writing, but he will be liable for the subscription of the year in which such communication is received.

Officers and Government.

VII. The Association shall have a President, two Vice-Presidents, and two Honorary Secretaries, who are also Treasurers.

VIII. The Association shall be governed by a Council, consisting of fifteen ordinary members, besides the above office-bearers. The Council may fill up vacancies in its own body as they occur during the year.

IX. All office-bearers and ordinary members of Council shall be elected at the annual meeting, and shall hold office till the annual meeting next ensuing; they shall be eligible for re-election. (This rule shall apply to all Officers elected by the Council during the year.)

X. The Council shall ordinarily meet once a quarter, and when specially summoned together by the President of the Association, or at the requisition of any five members of the Council.

Departments and Sections.

XI. The Association shall be divided into four departments: the *first*, for *Jurisprudence and Law*; the *second*, for *Education*; the *third*, for *Health*; and the *fourth*, for *Economy and Trade.*

XII. The Council shall divide itself into sections corresponding to the above departments. The President and Secretaries shall be *ex-officio* members of every section. Each section may appoint its own Chairman and Secretary, who, if not already members of the Council under Rule 9, shall have the right of taking part in its deliberations and of voting at its meetings.

XIII. The work of a section shall consist in collecting, classifying, and arranging the papers and information relating to its own department. For this purpose it may associate with itself other members of the Association.

Sub-Committees.

XIV. The Council may also form other Sub-Committees of its body for special purposes, and such Sub-Committees shall also have the power of adding to their number other members of the Association. The President and Secretaries are *ex-officio* members of all Sub-Committees.

Meetings.

XV. The meeting of the Association shall be annual, quarterly, and special.

XVI. The annual and quarterly meetings of the Association shall be held in Calcutta. The former shall be convened by the Council in January of each year, and the latter in the months of January, March, July, and November.

XVII. Special meetings of the Association may be convened by the Council at such time and place, and for such purpose as they shall think fit.

XVIII. At the annual meeting of the Association, the President, or one of the Vice-Presidents, shall deliver an address, and the general and sectional reports for the past year shall be read.

XIX. The quarterly meetings of the Association shall be held for the reading and discussion of papers merely.

SECRETARIAT.

XX. The Honorary Secretaries shall, by mutual agreement, divide the duties of their office between them, reporting such arrangement to the Council.

ACCOUNTS.

XXI. The accounts of the Association shall be audited by two members of the Association, not being members of Council, who shall be appointed at the annual meeting.

XXII. The funds of the Association shall be lodged in the Bank of Bengal, and cheques shall be drawn only upon the signature of the President (or one of the Vice-Presidents) and one of the Secretaries.

BRANCH ASSOCIATIONS.

XXIII. The Association shall correspond with, and affiliate to itself, Branch Associations established out of Calcutta.

XXIV. As a condition of such affiliation, Branch Associations shall pay to the funds of the Parent Association a sum of six Rupees per annum for each one of their members, in return for which such members shall be entitled to a copy of its Transactions, and to the privilege of attending its meetings in Calcutta or elsewhere.

REGULATIONS RELATING TO PAPERS.

1. With a view to direct the communications of members and others into the most useful channels, the Council have drawn up certain heads of enquiry in each department. But it is not intended to confine discussion to these particular subjects; papers on other interesting topics which may occur to individuals will also be accepted by the Council.

2. All papers should be sent to the Honorary Secretaries at the Metcalfe Hall, at least one month before the meeting at which they are to be read. On the first page of every paper should be written the subject, and the name and address of the author.

3. As a rule, all papers shall be submitted by the General Secretaries to the section which they may concern, upon whose recommendation alone they shall be accepted by the Council, provided that in special cases in which the President may think it conducive to the interests of the Society, he may, on the inspection of a paper, exercise his discretion in accepting it without previous submission to the section.

4. A paper will ordinarily be read by its author, or by some friend nominated by him for the purpose; failing such, it will be read by the Secretary in the particular department which it concerns.

5. Papers, when read, should be left with the Secretary to the department, by whom they will be returned to the General Secretaries.

6. No paper, already published, can be read. No paper, which has been accepted, can be published privately, except by permission of the Council.

7. The Council may print any paper either in whole or in part, or may exclude any paper altogether from the Transactions, as they see fit. Members of the Association will be entitled to twenty spare copies of any printed papers which they may contribute.

8. All papers should be composed in as clear and concise a style as possible. They should be confined, as far as practicable, to the relation of facts and observations bearing upon the question, and should avoid, as far as may be, the enunciation of general principles and of philosophical theories and reflections. It is quite true that the promotion of Social Science demands that deductions should be drawn from ascertained facts, but it is believed that the requisite *data* have not yet been accumulated, and that the Association will, for the present at least, be most beneficially engaged in the collection of Social Statistics.

9. With a view to preserve the object with which general meetings of the Association are held, *viz.*, the discussion of the subjects which may be then introduced, no papers shall be read *in extenso* which will occupy more than a quarter of an hour in the reading, but in the event of the paper being longer, a *précis* or abstract shall be read instead. Such abstract shall be submitted for the approval of the Council together with the original paper.

SUBJECTS OF ENQUIRY.

Enquiries regarding Female Education.

1. How many schools do you know of in your district, or neighbourhood, for the instruction of females? and are such schools for girls only, or for the instruction of girls and boys together?

NOTE.—In the replies to this question, some designation or description of the schools referred to should be given, so that, in the event of the same schools being returned in different answers, they may be identified, and not counted more than once.

2. How many female scholars are there on the rolls of such schools collectively, and what is the average daily attendance?

3. Can you say whether caste has any influence upon the admission of girls to such schools?

4. At what age do girls generally enter school, and how long do they remain?

5. State the causes, so far as you are aware of them, of the withdrawal of female pupils from school.

6. What is the course of study generally pursued in the schools with which you are acquainted, and state in particular whether English or needlework is taught in them?

7. Have you observed any difference in the progress made generally by all the girls in a school, as compared with that of the pupils in a boys' school of a similar kind?

8. State as nearly as you can the number of male and female teachers respectively employed in the schools to which you are referring, and whether any school is under female superintendence or charge solely.

9. To what extent does it appear to you that education is continued after the girls are withdrawn from school?

10. To what extent do you consider that female education has increased within the last five years, both as to the numbers taught and the nature of instruction imparted?

11. Do you think zenana education more adapted to the circumstances of the natives of this country than school education?

12. State whether any social difficulties hinder the instruction of females in the family house, and in particular whether the Hindu family system places any peculiar difficulties in the way of young married women being educated by their husbands.

13. What is your opinion on the subject of normal schools?

14. Do you approve of the suggestion to select widows as teachers, or do you think the employment of married women preferable?

15. State any opinions which you may entertain as to the best means of promoting and extending female education.

Answers to the above questions, or any information bearing upon the subject of this paper, may be sent to either of the Secretaries of the Association (H. Beverley, Esq., C. S., or Babu Peary Chand Mittra) at 5, Wellesley Place, and the Metcalfe Hall, or to the Secretary to the Education Section, H. H. Locke, Esq., Bengal Club.

Inquiries regarding Agriculture and the condition of the Agricultural classes.

1. What crops are grown in your district, and in what proportions?

2. How many crops are produced on the same land in the year? State what they are, distinguishing between those that are sown simultaneously and those that are sown in rotation. Is land in your district allowed to lie fallow? If so, at what intervals, and for what period?

3. What is the average extent of ground actually cultivated by each ryot?

4. Do ryots to any extent (and if so, to what extent) employ *hired* labour? Or does any practice exist under which ryots holding *distinct* lands assist each other by the *loan* of labour and implements?

Is there any cultivation carried on by means of an educated class applying their own capital to the purpose, and themselves directing the cultivation by hired labour?

5. To what extent do individuals or families combine in taking and cultivating land? Is there any competition in regard to the taking of land, and if not, how are rents regulated?

6. What capital does a ryot usually possess in the shape of cattle, implements, grain, or other stored produce, buildings, or available money? How many acres is it commonly estimated that each plough will cultivate?

7. Is there any ryot in your district who has capital as above, so as to be independent of the Mahajun?

8. What shape do the Mahajun's advances usually take, and in what shape and to what extent are they repaid? Is the account between the ryot and the Mahajun annually settled and the balance discharged?

9. State the manner in which the produce of the soil, distinguishing between different crops, is disposed of? Trace it from the field to the consumer. Does the cultivator go to the buyer or to market with his produce, or does the buyer come to him? Does the sale take place by sample?

10. Give the market price of each class of produce for as many years back as you can.

11. Is marriage among the agricultural classes a matter of course at any customary age, or is it governed by any consideration of the means of living?

12. Do the ryots' children receive any education? If so, at what age are they taken from school to be employed upon the land?

Inquiries regarding the Artizan classes of Calcutta.

1. What is the nature of your business?

2. What is the number of native artizans in your employ, and how is their labour distributed?

3. Do they work on your premises or at their homes?

4. Distribute them as far as possible according to caste, age, sex, and place of birth.

5. What proportion of them live in Calcutta and in the Suburbs? Do their families reside with them?

6. Have any of them been attracted to Calcutta from agricultural pursuits by the prospect of higher wages?

7. How were they trained to their occupation? Have they received it from their fathers, or is any system of apprenticeship in use amongst them?

8. What proportion are able to read and write?

9. Can you give any information as to their habits? Are they intemperate or otherwise?

10. What wages do they earn? State the maximum and minimum given by you.

11. Are wages higher than they were ten years ago, and to what extent?

12. Do all your workmen receive monthly wages, or are any of them paid by the job?

13. Are you in the habit of making advances?

14. Do the native artizans work through Sirdars?

15. Do any of them save money out of their earnings? Would the institution of Savings Banks be likely to foster a spirit of prudential economy?

16. Are they in the habit of working at home on their own account? And do they employ others under them?

17. Do they belong to any societies, benefit, or trade, or are they limited or practically controlled by caste?

18. Is the supply of labour in your branch of trade increasing or diminishing, and what is the cause?

19. Is your work performed by hand labour or by machinery? Where machinery is in use, are the results satisfactory?

20. Do you use principally European or native tools? Do the workmen find their own tools?

21. How does the work of native artizans bear comparison with that of Europeans, as to skill and as to speed of execution?

Answers to the above questions, or any information bearing upon the subject of the foregoing papers, may be sent to either of the Secretaries of the Association (H. Beverley, Esq., C. S., or Babu Peary Chand Mittra), at 5, Wellesley Place, and the Metcalfe Hall, or to the Secretary to the Trade and Economy Section, James Wilson, Esq., *Indian Daily News* Press.

JURISPRUDENCE AND LAW.

3.—*The Relief of Prisoners discharged from Jail.* *By the* Hon'ble Mr. Justice Norman.

[Read on the 31st March 1868.]

A portion of the Charitable Fund originally bequeathed by General Martin for the relief of poor prisoners, has recently been placed at the disposal of the Visitors of the Presidency Jail, to be applied towards supplying convicts, whose conduct during imprisonment has been creditable, with clothing and other necessaries, on their release from prison, or shipping, or forwarding them to some place where there may be a reasonable prospect of their gaining an honest livelihood, or assisting them to procure some employment in India, or elsewhere. The income is paid out of Court to the Commissioner of Police, who keeps an account of the expenditure. The first half-yearly payment on account of this Fund, was received in August 1866. Since that date, at the beginning of every month, a list of the European prisoners in the jail whose period of imprisonment will terminate within three months from the date of such list, is prepared and supplied for the use of the Visitors. The Visitors, the Superintendent, and the Chaplain, are invited to give their opinion, as to the conduct of the prisoners about to be discharged, and to point out any prisoners, European or Native, who may appear to be proper objects for the application of the funds at the disposal of the Visitors.

I may state that Dr. Lynch has always given the most judicious and valuable advice as to the prisoners fitted to receive such assistance.

During four months and a half of the year 1866, 20 European and Eurasian, and 14 native prisoners discharged from Jail, received assistance from the Fund. During the year 1867, 32 European and Eurasian prisoners, and 34 native prisoners, received such assistance.

In one case a prisoner who had been a Surgeon, and during a considerable portion of the time he was in jail, had been employed as an Apothecary, who had made himself exceedingly

useful, and shown great humanity in attending on the sick, on his discharge from prison, received assistance to enable him to proceed as Surgeon, on board a ship to a distant country, where the crime he had committed would be unknown. A shoe-maker who had made himself useful in prison by making shoes, and teaching others to do so, received assistance to enable him to purchase a small stock of tools, and some leather, so as to set himself up in business. In other cases, discharged prisoners have been sent at the expense of the Fund from Calcutta to places where they had friends, or where they would likely be able to get employment. In these cases, in addition to clothing, the prisoners received small sums of money to help them to maintain themselves while seeking for employment. In many cases, situations have been secured for prisoners after they left the prison. You would think perhaps that there would be considerable difficulty in finding a master ready to take into his service a man freshly come out of prison. But we have many prisoners who have committed serious offences—violent assaults for instance, whose character for honesty is irreproachable. For others, who could not be trusted with money, employment can be found, where such temptation is not put in their way. Many men of this stamp are under the greatest obligations to Mr. Parry Davis, and Major Reveley, neither of whom ever spared any pains to find employment fitted for men willing to work. Of course, in every such instance, the employer is made acquainted with all the circumstances of the prisoner's history, as far as it is known to the Visitors.

Others who had been loafers about the streets of Calcutta, wrecks of men floating helplessly on the eddies of our population, have received assistance to enable them to quit the country, to go to some place where, in a more bracing climate, and amongst new associations, there would be at least a chance for them. In such cases, if there is money to be given, it is usually handed over by a Sergeant of Police to the man in the railway carriage, or on board the ship in which he is to sail. With one of these men I myself came into contact. He had been for some years one of the pests of Flag Street, and had been repeatedly in prison for minor offences. He was a very active, muscular man, of more than average intelligence. About a month before his discharge from the jail, I called him aside, and spoke to him of the suffering he would probably bring upon himself, and the misery he had already undergone, saying, I knew he was capable of better things. He said it would be very well if he could keep from brandy. I told him

he had better consider the matter, and if he could resolve to try to do better, to let Dr. Lynch or Mr. Wilson know. If he would make the attempt, we would give him a helping hand. A few days after he had come out of prison, he came to tell me, that he had determined to leave the country. I thought he would ask for his passage money, and outfit, and said something to that effect. He said, no; he had got an advance from the owners of the ship—that a portion of this would go to pay some debts he owed in Calcutta, and all he wanted was a small sum to pay for a very moderate outfit, which he had agreed to buy of a sailor, at a cheaper rate than we could get it. He hoped that we would not send a Police Constable with his outfit on board the ship. We paid Rs. 28-14 in all in the manner he wished, and he left Calcutta, I sincerely trust, to commence a better life elsewhere.

Native prisoners have usually received assistance to enable them to proceed to their homes, and sometimes gratuities. One man who had been a broker, had been very useful as a work-master and in teaching others in jail, received a gratuity of Rs. 100 on his discharge.

The benefits of the Fund have not been confined to the inmates of the Presidency Jail. The Visitors render assistance to prisoners discharged from other Jails.

One great difficulty as regards native prisoners, must always be to gain their confidence. I cannot help thinking, that a small body of Native gentlemen, who would form themselves into a society for assisting discharged prisoners, might do much good. To show what can be effected by private charity in this way, I may tell you what was done by the Durham refuge for discharged prisoners, which was started by my friend Mr. George Hamilton, now Archdeacon of Lindisfarne. It was established on the 1st of May 1849. In one year £61-15-2 were collected, and at an expense of £30-0-5, 19 boys were sent to sea immediately after their discharge from prison; five sailor boys were sent back to their ships; 25 persons were restored to their friends, of whom at the end of the year not one was recommitted to prison; the railway fares of ten of these people were paid. For four young women places as domestic servants were procured. Six other females were placed in a Penitentiary. Without going through all the figures, I may sum up the whole by saying that at an expense of 30 pounds, or, in other words, three hundred rupees, 66 discharged prisoners were placed in situations where they could

earn a livelihood; restored to the wholesome influence of their nearest relations; or placed in positions where a chance of reformation was afforded them.

There is no more important point as regards the reformation of criminals, than the disposal of them on their release from prison; and this applies more particularly to juvenile offenders than to those of any other class. In all cases in which the prisoners do not belong to families of the criminal classes, it must be the great object to restore them to their parents or friends. But as regards juvenile native offenders, there is at present no agency for that purpose. In order to carry out a scheme of this kind, it is necessary in each instance to ascertain from the convict where his friends live,—not always an easy matter, and then enquiry must be made whether the friends are respectable, and would be willing to take him back. The strong family attachments of the natives of this country render it probable that this would usually be the case.

In the Durham Jail, they have a form of letter, which is sent written to the relations of the prisoner. It is as follows:—

"*The Jail, Durham, the day of* 186 .

I write to inform you that your son A B will be discharged from this prison on the day of next at 8 o'clock. I beg that you will come and meet him at the above place and hour, and endeavour by your care and influence to prevent him from falling into further crime.

Signed ——————."

The Chaplain usually signs the letter. In one year 472 such letters were sent from the Jail by post, in each case, a week before the discharge of the prisoner from Jail, and with excellent results.

It often happens, that if the father does not come to the gate of the prison to receive his son and take him home, the opportunity is lost, and it is afterwards doubly difficult to separate the boy from his associates in crime. In one case which occurred here, a Hindoo boy, the son of respectable parents near Pooree, was lost to those who had undertaken to return him to his friends, by having been discharged from the jail a few hours before they were ready to receive him.

In Durham, if the parent cannot come to the Jail, and states his reasons for not doing so, the boy is taken by a trustworthy person, and placed in a railway carriage, his fare is paid, and he is forwarded to the spot where his father will receive him.

It is found useful, in cases of juvenile associates in crime, to sentence them to different terms of imprisonment, in order that they may not be thrown together, under the influence of their leaders, immediately on coming out of jail. I myself, when circumstances have fairly admitted of it, have often acted on the principle of making some slight distinction between the sentences of different criminals, who have been associates in crime, with a view to keeping them apart on coming out of jail.

I have thought it right to bring this subject before the Social Science Association, because I am convinced that it is very desirable that you should consider and discuss it; and if, as the result of your deliberation, three or four native gentlemen could be persuaded to interest themselves on the subject, they would probably be able to gain the confidence of prisoners and their friends, and succeed in doing good in very numerous cases where European gentlemen without assistance would probably fail.

On the conclusion of the paper—

Babu Peary Chand Mittra expressed an opinion that great attention ought to be paid to the caste and social status of convicts in the occupations that were selected for them while in jail. He thought that it was the duty of the Government to find them such employment only as they could unobjectionably follow on their release.

Dr. Chuckerbutty agreed with his friend Babu Peary Chand Mittra that some consideration ought to be paid to caste in allotting labor to prisoners. Many of the castes were so many trades to which the prisoners would naturally revert on their release from jail. If they were employed in occupations which they could not afterwards follow, the benefit of the discipline they were subjected to would be lost, and they would not be in a better position to earn their livelihood. He also thought there should be some exceptions. This was particularly required where the previous occupation has been of a criminal character, such as Thuggeeism. It would be preposterous to encourage such pursuits. It had likewise struck him that the employment in jail should be suited to the intellectual aptitude and bent of the convicts if that could make them better members of society afterwards. This would very materially help the object of the society proposed by the learned lecturer. But perhaps he was digressing from the subject before them in saying this. He fully supported the views of the Hon'ble Justice Norman. The society and fund he proposed to establish would be a great boon. At least nine-tenths of the relations of the native prisoners are glad to receive them back. But in many cases people go in search of employment to distant places and there get into jail. Their friends then suddenly lose all trace of them and hunt about from town to town to find them out, but often without success. Under these circumstances, the convicts on their release are destitute of means and cannot communicate with their friends. The action of the proposed society would be fraught with good in such instances. Then as to the fund he thought it could

be raised without much difficulty. Many native gentlemen gave away large sums on certain religious occasions for the release of insolvent debtors, some of whom were the victims of misfortune, but others more or less guilty. Instead of employing their charity in this indiscriminate way, he felt sure when these gentlemen learnt the object of the society, they would willingly give it the benefit of these donations. To come to business he thought his friend Babu Peary Chand Mittra would make a capital Secretary, who, with a committee of native gentlemen, who thoroughly understood their countrymen, and of some Europeans, could do much good. He should, therefore, be glad to see such a society formed at once, but the details of it might be left to be settled by the President in consultation with such other gentlemen as are interested in the subject.

MR. BEVERLEY believed that there was some truth in the remarks which had fallen from the last two speakers as to the disinclination manifested by discharged convicts to follow the occupations which they had been taught in jail. The matter had been noticed by the Inspector General of Jails in his last report, and he attributed it to the fact that the population of this country is normally an agricultural, and not a manufacturing, population. The question arose, however, whether the return of released criminals to agricultural pursuits is not to some extent due to the want of the capital which is necessary to purchase tools, and to enable such persons to set themselves up in some useful and profitable handicraft. The Government had accordingly called on Dr. Mouat to suggest some scheme, by which a fund might be raised and accumulated by the prisoners themselves, so as to enable them to start again in life on their release. Such a scheme, MR. BEVERLEY, believed, was already in operation in the European Penitentiary at Hazareebaugh under the able superintendence of Dr. Coates. This was all he thought that the Government could do legitimately—the rest must be left to private benevolence, for which there was ample scope. He trusted that the appeal which had been made by the honorable lecturer would not be thrown away upon a community which boasted that one of its national characteristics was its spirit of charity and benevolence.

MR. WILSON pointed out the moral superiority of private benevolence in such a matter over Government interference.

The PRESIDENT doubted whether the object aimed at by Mr. Justice Norman's proposal ought not properly to fall under the consideration of Government rather than to the care of private individuals. Imprisonment should be regarded solely as a deterrent and reformatory means not as so much punishment to be inflicted on the prisoner, which when once undergone by way of retribution might be put out of sight and obliterated as soon as possible. He thought the latter view so generally prevalent was erroneous. But if imprisonment was looked at in the two first-mentioned aspects, it must be said that the executive Government was greatly concerned with what happened to the prisoner on discharge from jail. The deterrent effect of imprisonment, on others than the prisoner himself, would be increased by publicity and by the fact that social disadvantages followed in its Train. Probably the peculiar caste organization of society in this country made results of this sort especially deterrent. On the other hand, no doubt there was risk that the same circumstances might tend to harden the discharged prisoner in vicious courses; but this was only an additional

reason why Government should not withdraw its hand the instant the prison doors closed behind the discharged convict. The matter was very complicated. It was difficult enough to deal rightly with prisoners inside the walls of the jail, but the release of the prisoner into society again gave rise to even more formidable difficulties still, and it should never be forgotten that all these flowed from, and were the necessary consequences of, the original conviction and imprisonment. It seemed, therefore, to him that the responsibilities of the executive Government, commencing as they did with the conviction, certainly did not end with the imprisonment.

MR. JUSTICE NORMAN in reply expressed his dissent from the last remarks. He thought that when a prisoner came out of jail, we ought to deal with him not as judges but as men, that discharged convicts wanted aid and sympathy, and that such could only be effectually supplied by private benevolence.

4.—*Bribery in Courts of Justice—its Extent, Causes and Remedy.*

By Lieutenant Duncan J. Stewart.

[Read on the 24th July 1868.]

The limits of bribery may be said in a general way to be identical with the facilities which exist for bribery in any particular court of justice. There is a general willingness to give, and an equal willingness to receive bribes, and the exceptions are so ill known amongst the population generally, that they cannot be said to affect the question. The amount of bribe given depends on the stake at issue, the grade of official who takes it, and the chances of detection.

Very much depends in all these cases on the officer presiding over the court; the weight his decision usually has in the superior courts and the odds of a reverse are guaged with tolerable accuracy; the extent to which all or any of his subordinates can influence his opinion soon becomes known; and his capacity for detecting irregularities together with the extent to which he makes use of it, has a very decided influence on the bribe market. Supposing bribes to be given and taken in all courts, and that none have arrived at the point where bribery is impossible, their money value will be higher in the court of a good officer than in that of a bad one; indeed it is just possible to conceive an officer so indifferent, that no bribery whatever would be worth while in his court, and it is probable that some court of this kind is the only one in the country, where bribery in one shape or another could not be discovered.

Bribery has exhibited itself at some period of the judicial history of every country, and the usual remedies have been, high regular salaries, such as would place judges in an independent position, the entire subordination of all those officials in any way connected with the court, and a denial of the exercise of political rights which would connect them prominently with one or other party in the State, and render bias towards political enemies, who sued before them, a possible contingency. The essential difference between Indian courts of justice and those of any other country, is the prominent position of the court subordinates, and the dependence on them which is apt to be fostered in the mind of

the presiding officer, which again is exaggerated by an ignorant population, who are easily led to believe that it will avail them to secure the services of these subordinates in their case, and as the custom continues, it is too much to suppose a chance decision here and there has kept it alive, but that these subordinates really possess in many cases the powers they profess. In a climate like India, there is no doubt a very great inducement to place in the hands of others much that should not be transferred, and this is intensified by the presence of an able, obsequiously polite and personally agreeable class of officials, ever ready to relieve their superior of trouble, and to take upon themselves, all or even more than he wishes to give. This process is often carried on with much subtlety, and though also visible where no gain is possible, and speaking much for the general politeness of the natives of India, where power is to be acquired it can often be detected in great and dangerous strength.

To illustrate the extent of what is meant, it will be sufficient to recall to mind the invariable appeal to the "Office" or "Baboo," by the head of any department, whether Civil, Military, or Mercantile, when information of any kind, and often of ordinary description, is sought for on a personal visit. All leave far too much in the hands of their subordinates, and allow themselves to become dependent on them, for what they should themselves be solely responsible, and able to perform of their own knowledge and experience.

The fullest limit to which bribery can or does extend, may be considered as gained, in the case of a court subordinate finding a sufficiently ignorant subject to believe that the bribe he is asked or willing to give will directly or indirectly reach the hands of the presiding officer; and affect his decision in the pending case, and certainly the case is a possible one, so that any congratulation by the public at large; that no such enormity could be committed should be of the most limited degree.

If the issues are the same, as when the presiding officer did in reality place himself in league with his subordinates to sell justice, it is merely a matter of sentiment, whether he does so or not, and a conscientious officer should feel as acutely the honor of his court compromised by the misconduct of one of his subordinates, where the administration of justice is involved, as though he himself were guilty of the offence in question. Were officers brought to view their responsibility in this light, and it is I think hardly an exag-

gerated one, a quickening effect would soon be visible in their zeal and activity in detecting bribery.

II.—Of the causes of bribery much has by inference been stated in discussing its extent.

The chief cause, however, remains to be stated as consisting in the custom of the country from time immemorial of thinking that justice and bribery were inseparably to be connected. So much is this the case, that it is no rare statement to receive from natives, that whatever be done to mitigate the acknowledged evil, nothing will ever entirely put a stop to it, or only the abolition, if it were possible, of all native subordinates, whose evil practices are connotive of their names, and will, with the greatest difficulty, be eradicated. A suit in any court in this country is generally regarded very much in the same light, as a suit in chancery is in England; it is a costly proceeding of uncertain result and indefinite length, the workings of which are as little understood as they are appreciated by the mass of the people, who would mostly undergo considerable loss and discomfort, rather than subject themselves to such influences which appear best to serve the evil purposes of those who desire to annoy their neighbours. When compelled to appear before a court of justice, therefore, bribery comes as a very natural part of the whole proceeding, and a man will often offer a bribe, not to prejudice the decision, but simply to hurry his case and be done with the court, just as he would have offered it, to avoid appearing there at all. He lacks confidence in the matter from beginning to end; if experience induces him to believe that the decision may just possibly be a just one, it is only a part of the inglorious uncertainty which he connects with the whole system, and not because the true bearing of the question has to him any chance of being brought out, or of forming the basis of the decision.

The causes of bribery may be summed up as being the want of confidence on the part of the court of justice towards the people, and a reciprocal want of confidence on the part of the people towards the court of justice, for which on either side there is ample foundation.

To speak rudely, the cause of the continuance of bribery is, because it pays; and this brings me to the remedies that may be suggested, which from what has been said will naturally connect themselves with—(1), the presiding officer of the court of justice;

(2), his subordinates; and (3), the people seeking justice. The fault is to some extent attributable to all three, and all must assist in the remedy. It is not much to assume that the present laws fail to prevent bribery to any appreciable extent, and that they so fail must be attributed to their direction and limited sphere of action. The evil is so great that it amounts to a curse on the country, and justifies, as it requires, strong measures for its extinction. For the present it is impossible to look for sufficient moral rectitude, or even public opinion to prevent bribery, it is only possible to place difficulties in the way and create an increased fear of detection. The existing laws do not appear to make it a matter of sufficient policy to abstain from bribery, or to assist in making it known. Those who could best certify to a bribe, are the parties most nearly concerned in the transaction either as giver or receiver, and are deeply interested in maintaining secrecy. Even if bribery is proved, the decision in the case stands, and the giver of the bribe may come out a heavy gainer by the transaction. Although it might, at first sight, appear that the limited number of court subordinates could more easily be influenced than the mass of the population, and that the penalties of bribery should therefore be made more severe to the former, rather than to the latter, it must be remembered whose fears can most easily be acted on? And I think the answer would be, those of the people. The court subordinates are receivers of bribes daily, they have too much to do with the law to fear it, and consequently grow callous. The givers are only placed in that position after considerable intervals, perhaps only once or twice in their lives, and have, on the whole, a greater stake to lose than the receivers.

On these grounds, therefore, *their* fears of detection are most easily to be excited, and to effect this I would render the discovery of a bribe having been given in any case, whether directly or indirectly, by either plaintiff or defendant, within a year or some stated period after the decision was given, sufficient to vitiate the whole proceedings from beginning to end, and necessitate an entirely new trial, as though nothing had occurred. It seems to me the fear of detection would come home very closely to both plaintiff and defendant, and that the one for his own sake would exercise an unceasing scrutiny over the proceedings of the other, and both would at least hesitate before playing so dangerous a game.

Many who now know little about the penalities connected with bribery, would in this way have the subject forced on their attention.

There would doubtless be evils connected with such a law, but they seem infinitely preferable and limited in extent to those that exist under the present system.

But there must be other minor changes. The salaries of the court subordinates should be raised, not only to render the respective positions sufficiently remunerative, and to make their possible loss require high compensation, but to succeed in securing the services of better men of a higher social standing, who would feel some shame in being degraded for a disgraceful offence. Further the exact position of each and the extent of his power and duties should better be made known, as well as the exact cost of every step in all stages of proceedings, not only by publishing them at every court, but in other places, such as schools, and at the dwellings of village headmen and other functionaries. If the number who at present sit on the platform with the presiding officer could be limited, and some of them placed in an adjacent office, and the duties performed at present by messengers or chuprassies, placed on the police, it would be an improvement.

It seems possible that quarters being provided in a prominent position near the court-house for the chief court subordinates to reside in, might prove an advantage, and the question arises, whether the duties of some of these court subordinates might not be performed by vakeels, employed when they could afford it by plaintiffs and defendants, and when not so able at the expense of Government. If the number of court subordinates could be reduced, the limits of bribery would be so also, and the attention of the presiding officer be less disturbed; and in connection with this, it appears very much to be desired that judicial duties should everywhere be disconnected entirely from those of any other description whatsoever, so that no ground could possibly exist for supposing a grudge emanating in one department could be paid off in another, and greater confidence be so established.

The presiding officer remains to be discussed, and it is my opinion that a case of bribery occurring in his court should by no means affect him so little as it does at present. It should be considered as a personal disgrace, different only in degree from his individually accepting a bribe, because involving precisely the same results, and not as at present be thought a matter entirely beyond his control. He should know his subordinates better, and be acquainted with the character they bear in the neighbourhood generally, and not as is often the case, be the only individual of a small community, who is not aware of the bribe taking propensities of

those placed under his control. No one will tell him, because they either suppose he is well aware of the fact, or lack confidence in his believing their statement, and fear the consequent personal risk of making one, for which even if successful, there is no compensating reward, and this feeling is often enhanced by the infatuation displayed by presiding officers for their court subordinates. Until bribery is identified to a much greater extent than at present, with the officers who are really responsible for it, and are considered to be so by the natives generally, bribery will not cease to be the curse that it is to India.

In conclusion it appears to me that the assistance of the native priesthood should be called in to denounce bribery, and to use the very great influence they possess with the mass of the population to induce them to cease joining in it, and assisting to eradicate its influence in dark hiding places. And here I would wish to state that a most useful means, on secular matters, of influencing the people appears to my mind in the native priesthood, who are perfectly able and willing to denounce social evils, and on whom a little attention would be very profitably bestowed.

Toleration may be either active or passive. It may ascend and place all priesthoods of whatever creeds on the same complimentary standing with the particular priesthood of the person who tolerates; or, it may descend, and be a toleration which practically ignores, which approaches indifference, or is akin to contempt.

The mass of the Indian priesthood are a remarkably intelligent and agreeable body of men, greatly respected by their followers, and the population at large, and would gladly assist in popular movements unconnected with religion, in which they would soon learn to see, a means of sustaining their power, which they would then exert for good instead of for evil. They are peculiarly adapted to assist the machinery of such an institution as that which I address, and are quite as likely to succeed if they really take a matter in hand, as any laws or enactments which can be drawn up. I should be glad to be the means of drawing to them the attention of the Social Science Association.

The discussion on this paper was begun by Babu Umesh Chunder Banerjee, who thought that the want of social position and of education had much to do with the taking of bribes. He affirmed that there was no *custom* of taking bribes as the writer had stated.

Babu Peary Chand Mittra believed the root of the evil to lie in the fact of the *amlah* receiving inadequate pay. How could they be expected to

be honest on such pay as is given to punkah-pullers and bhistees. He pointed out that in Warren Hastings' time, the higher Government officers took bribes until their pay was raised, when they ceased doing so. He believed the same result would follow the raising of the pay of subordinate officers now.

Babu Shama Churn Sircar said that he could corroborate the remarks of Babu Peary Chand Mittra by cases within his own experience. He could recollect the surprise of the late Chief Justice J. R. Colvin, on being told by him that the pay of so important an officer as a *decreenavis* was Rs. 6 a month, the same as that of his punkha bearer. His attention having been directed to the matter the pay was raised to Rs. 10 a month, but this sum even is less than the earnings of a cooly in Calcutta, and not at all sufficient to pay the man's lodging expenses, to say nothing of the support of his family at home. In no other civilized country, and by no other civilized Government, is an official of similar status so miserably paid as the *amlah* of the Indian Court. His necessity drives him to take bribes, and it must be remembered in his favour that necessity knows no law. Did not the predecessors of the present European functionaries here break the laws, both human and divine, on the ground or plea of necessity?

Again, does not the early part of the History of British Rule in India teem with the acts of corruption and malpractices of European officials? It is only since they have been well paid that they have become trustworthy, though even since then there have been exceptions. The Essayist should have judged the *amlah* by the standard of his own nation, and the golden dictum of Him whose religion he professes to follow. He was sorry to find Europeans and Eurasians paid on a scale very much higher than Natives, though the work is the same. A comparison between the pay of the registrar on the original side of the High Court and his immediate subordinate with the pay of the sarishtadar of a Zillah Court and his mohurir would show this. It was most unjust that this should be so. He would ask whether the *amlahs* were not justified in saying "when we are appointed to offices of great trust and responsibility on such small salaries, is it not an understood matter that we are to have perquisites in addition, in order to maintain ourselves in a style suitable to our position." He would further ask whether the Government ought to allow this practice to continue when it could be so easily remedied. Of the several remedies suggested by the Essayist, two seem to be the most effectual of all, namely, adequate salary, and the employment of men of good education and principle. These same remedies had been recommended by many eminent authorities, among whom was the Hon'ble F. J. Shore. His words were—"the remedy is not difficult—better pay, which will gradually introduce into the establishment a more respectable class of men, and proper surveillance on the part of the Magistrates. Many still argue, no amount of salaries will make the Natives honest: the same reason might with equal justice, if judgment had been formed from past experience, have been employed when Lord Cornwallis raised the salaries of the Civilians. Again, I repeat, only try the same experiment with the Natives, that has been found to succeed with the Civil Service. If a feeling of morality does not induce them to become honest, self-interest will do so." This remedy had been tried to some extent with the darogahs, and the judicial officers of the lower grade, and the expectation was jutisfied by the result. Let the same principle be more generally applied, and there would be no less success. He denied emphatically that there is any indigenous custom of receiving bribes.

The practice existed on no other basis than he had stated. But he could also assure them that bribery is at present much reduced in the Bengal Presidency, partly by judgments being written and notes of depositions taken by the judicial officers with their own hands, and in their own languages, partly by the introduction of Pleaders of better education and principle, and partly by the appointment of some educated natives of principle in the Courts of Justice as well as other Offices. The censure of the Essayist was far too indiscriminate and sweeping. It might refer to his own particular locality, but it was certainly not generally true.

MR. C. D. FIELD said, that in his opinion no single one of the three previous speakers had stated the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, though he was prepared to admit that a considerable share of the truth was contained in, and could be eliminated from, the speech of each. One speaker had proposed an increase of pay as a specific—a second was of opinion that the *amlah* required to be better educated, while a third thought that ministerial employment should be given to men of good caste and family. Now four years ago he was at the head of an office, the chief ministerial employee in which united all these three requisites in himself—and results trebly favorable might therefore have been anticipated. But these results were not realized, for it turned out that an organized system of bribery had been carried on in that office for years, which was only discovered by a Native Judge who succeeded him. Increase of pay was no doubt much wanted, and he only trusted that when the scheme lately sanctioned by Government for increasing the salaries of the *amlah* was carried out, the results would be all that could be desired.

He remembered, however, when the new Police were introduced what a zemindar, who personally managed and was acquainted with his own zemindaree and was not backward to speak out his mind to Europeans, remarked to him, *viz.*, that an increase of pay would not put a stop to corruption, for that pay and perquisites have a certain fixed relative proportion each to the other; that the Darogah on Rs. 50 who would be satisfied with a present of Rs. 5 would consider it below his dignity to accept less than 10 Rupees when his salary was raised to Rs. 100.

He held that education was also good in its own way, but it would not do to educate the *amlah* only; that the masses must also be educated the bribe-givers as well as the bribe-takers must be subjected to the influence of education; that the great difficulties now lay with those who gave the bribe, who could not be got to understand that their cases would come all right even though no present were offered; who could not believe that the giving of a bribe could not advance their interests. He might quote the instance of the Civil Service, whose members formerly received emoluments now unauthorized and illegal, but once permitted and recognized. When it was forbidden to take these, and when the members of that Service were put on their honor, the practice ceased, and it was never since even whispered against the Civil Service as a body that its members received bribes, or that the taking of bribes found favor with them. That the best remedy for bribery was to stimulate by general education those feelings of honor, self-respect and independence which were the offspring of education alone, not only in the *amlah*, but in the people at large, in those who gave as well as in those who received the bribes; to raise the masses and bring

it home to every individual that justice under British rule was given him as a right and not conceded to him as a favour to be purchased at second hand from the underlings of the courts. Once these feelings of independence and self-respect pervaded all classes, bribery must cease, and the *amlah* would no longer take, because no longer would there be any willing to offer a bribe.

Dr. Chuckerbutty in reply to the assertions of the last speaker that education and sufficient pay did but little to produce integrity in natives would only point to the Uncovenanted Judicial and Executive Services, and challenged the speaker to impeach the integrity of the native members of those services. He would also ask whether the system of giving a *dali* to high European officials drawing large salaries, containing gold mohurs in bags was not in existence down to the time of Lord William Bentinck, who put the custom down. When men were poorly paid and had not the means to maintain their respectability and to feed and educate their families, they resorted, in all countries, to questionable expedients, call them bribes, presents, perquisites or anything else. Bribery was not influenced by race differences. There were European departments where the wheels had to be oiled as notoriously as in any native *serista*. He believed that the establishment of an enlightened public opinion would supply the great antidote to the vice. In conclusion as the writer had spoken of the influence of the priesthood, he could say that there was no class which held bribery in greater disgust and abhorrence.

The Reverend K. M. Banerjee regretted the introduction of the race element into the discussion. There was no one who had a higher respect than himself for the Civil Service. But he was bound to say that it was dangerous to challenge the meeting to name a single member of that honorable body guilty of malpractices. Black sheep might be found in the purest flock, and he knew within his own recollection two if not three members of the service who had been suspended for asking or taking bribes or honoraria, or whatever these things might be called.

He differed from the writer of the essay in thinking that the courts were very bad now. The times were changed from those when the *serista-dar* used to write the judgment and the Judge to sign it, when the same officer used to take bribes from both parties, from the one to give him the decree, and from the other to write it so as to leave good grounds of appeal. There was still, however, necessarily, some giving and taking, The getting of plain copies was a fruitful source of bribery—not, he must say, in the High Court where every facility was given to applicants, and there was a fixed charge for plain copies, but in the subordinate courts where, as must also be remembered, the getting of copies was of so much more importance. Again, the Department of Civil Court Ameens required to be looked to. They were a bad lot, generally speaking—while their power was very great for evil, as under a section of the law all that they reported was evidence.

Mr. C. D. Field, in reply to the observations of some of the previous speakers, said that he felt considerably strengthened in his position by what had been advanced by them, that the exceptions instanced by Dr. Chuckerbutty and the Reverend K. M. Banerjee went to prove the rule—that no doubt there had been 'black sheep'; but the very use of this expression

admitted all he contended for, the black sheep were turned out of the flock who would have none of them; and their treatment showed the spirit which actuated the body and the Government, whose members were taken from that body. In the administration of justice there had been great laxity, and no doubt too much was left to underpaid underlings who were subjected to temptations almost impossible to resist; the *seristadar* too often was permitted to usurp the functions of the Judge, who did not take that personal share in the administration of justice which he ought to have taken. He had indeed heard of Judges, who decided cases according to the number of flies on the punkah: decreeing, if the number was even; if odd, dismissing. This mode of exercising judicial acumen had however not been approved, and those days were happily past for ever. The Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure now required every judicial officer to record the evidence and write his judgment, and the reasons for it, with his own hand. When the practices of former days were mentioned but to be reprobated, it should not be forgotten that it had been the care of the Government, which ruled this country, to remove those evils as well as the causes of them, thus identifying itself with those feelings of honor and integrity which were utterly antagonistic to practices which every one there assembled must unite in abhorring and detesting.

EDUCATION.

3.—*The present system of Education in the University of Calcutta.* *By* Babu Chunder Nath Bose, M. A.

[Read on the 31st March 1868.]

The University of Calcutta has been in existence for ten years. It is an educational institution in which about two-thirds of Her Majesty's Indian subjects are deeply interested. It has been moulding, and will continue to mould, throughout England's rule, the thought and character of millions of human beings. Its influence has been felt by all the ranks and gradations of society. It has stirred the minds as well of those who are its alumni as of those who are neither students, teachers nor professors. It has already been the cause of some striking changes in the general character and arrangements of our society, and, provided its vitality remain, it will sooner or later revolutionize the whole moral aspect of the country. Whether it increases in efficacy or degenerates in quality, its influence, for good or for evil, will be permanently felt both in the actual relations of castes and communities and in the form and salient features of public opinion.

The University of Calcutta has an important work to do. As an educational institution, it is to be considered as a mighty lever for the conservation of individual integrity and energy of character, amidst such relaxing effects of a progressive civilization as have already appeared so ruinously among the nobility and gentry of England. Although it is true, that the Bengalees, as a nation, have no independent political existence, still they have an intellectual life to form, a social life to improve, and a moral life to purify. And considering, as we must necessarily do, that civilization in its most general signification means not merely political improvement, but social and scientific progress as well, my countrymen, who have a society to reform, and sciences to master, as an indispensable condition of that social reformation, must regard the University of Calcutta as an all-important institution, which will supply both a positive and a negative formula towards a solution of the great problem of Bengalee civilization. Increase of civilization, without increase of knowledge, is a contradiction in terms. And if, as is most certain, the University of Calcutta be the one only means for the diffusion of scientific knowledge amongst our countrymen, it must be acknowledged by every careful observer of the time that

the progress of the University of Calcutta is a condition *sine qua non* of the progress of Bengalee civilization. This is the positive task—the work of construction—with which our University is charged. But we must here consider that progressive civilization, though founded upon increasing knowledge, may, when it has influenced an entire community, render itself wholly independent of that community viewed in the light of an aggregate of moral personalities,—that it may, as it has already done in some of the foremost countries in Europe, dispense with the individual as such, and rely for its support and nutriment upon combinations and co-operations of men. But masses of men, possessing, as they do, only a sort of corporate life, and divested as they generally are of the finer instincts of an emotional nature, exclude all but a most selfish and disguised rule of action from the world's busy theatre, and making temporal good the sole object of their collective existence, leave the individual as such under the influence of an opinion which creates no obligation for the improvement of personal character. As civilization increases, the *individual,* to use the words of John Stuart Mill, "becomes so lost in the crowd, that though he depends more and more upon opinion, he is apt to depend less and less upon well grounded opinion; upon the opinion of those who know him. An established character becomes at once more difficult to gain, and more easily to be dispensed with." Now, although progressive civilization is the work of classes and societies of men, still the individual as such never entirely loses his position as one of the constituent atoms of a civilized social organisation. And as the individual is the most prominent actor in an incipient stage of civilization, so he becomes equally important when civilization having run its course quite heedless of his moral existence finds that that very heedlessness has made him its greatest foe. In other words, civilization, which has a tendency to neglect and destroy the individual, receives its first shock from that prostration of individual energy and loss of individual courage of which it is itself the chief cause. Among the many agencies by which the natural and self-destroying tendencies of civilization may be counteracted, *good educational institutions* are by far the most radical and efficient. The University of Calcutta has, therefore, a negative task—a work of destruction reserved for it. That task it may not be required to perform till centuries have rolled away; or, if from these, the early years of its life, it understands its position as an instrument of civilization, it

See Dissertations and Discussions, Vol. I, page 182.

may not be called upon to perform it at all, except in the way of preventing by precautionary measures the appearance in the future of that abnormal feature of civilization which occasions the task itself. But taken either way the task is a reality.

The view I have here taken of the functions of the University of Calcutta, though it may appear to many as somewhat pedantic, is no doubt the most elevated view in the eye of the scientific observer, who is aware of the existence of a progressive civilization in Bengal. And, indeed, in estimating the nature of an institution, which, considered whether in its relations to the individual or to society at large, is of all institutions the most important and influential as a school for the development of speculative power, scientific thought and social virtues, the light in which the institution appears, when regarded as an instrument of civilization and moral progress, must be taken to be its most serious and general aspect. If this view of the manner of determining the character and position of an educational institution be correct, I think I shall be justified in examining the system of education which has been adopted by the University of Calcutta with special regard to that important character which it possesses as the agent of an advancing civilization, in other words, with an eye fixed steadily upon what may be called, to use a cant expression, the *mission* of the Calcutta University.

Before describing the nature of the studies of the University of Calcutta, I think it proper to take a brief view of the influence which that mighty institution is at present exercising upon the formation of the juvenile mind of Bengal. The sole aim of all elementary school education is now to obtain admission into the University, and the most important feature of the studies pursued in our schools is their adaptation to the method of instruction rendered almost necessary by the character of the studies and examinations of the University. Education cannot be exclusive of an object; but it is worthy of remark that one object is more noble than another according as it is more spiritual, or, if the expression were allowed, more *human* than that other. And if I be permitted to call those institutions *normal* and *independent* which have in view objects that are spiritual and human, and those institutions abnormal and slavish whose objects are material and not human, or, which is the same thing, not identical with the true object of education, our schools would best be classed under the category of slavish and abnormal institutions. The end and aim of education is, roughly speaking, the develop-

ment of the various powers and susceptibilities of the mind, and any system of study, which, if it does not entirely defeat that end, possesses a strong tendency to do so, cannot be considered by unsophisticated men as a system which entertains the purposes of education in the truest sense of that important but much abused word. Such a system of study would be only a means for the accomplishment of an object which is not identical with the true purpose of education, and thus it would be the slave of a desire different from that, which, in a state of public opinion sufficiently strong and enlightened to make wisdom loved for its own sake, gives birth to institutions consecrated to Science and Philosophy. A system of education possessing this characteristic cannot be considered as pure or perfectly rational. I have said that the object of all the education given in our elementary schools is to prepare the way for an admission into the University of Calcutta; and I now venture to add that a course of instruction which is guided by an object so narrow and material is liable to all the perversions, the abuses, the shortcomings of a system, in which education is considered not as an end in itself but only as a means for the attainment of a purpose. Such a system will not aim at developing the mental powers and susceptibilities of those for whom it has been framed. It will not possess in itself any such vitality as is imparted by the enforcement and active operation of that noble principle, which regards the training of the powers of the mind as the truest meaning and object of education. It will be characterized by all the defects, and tainted by all the vices, of a dull, lifeless routine of stereotyped forms and formulæ. It will produce all the stagnating effects of a purely mechanical regimen. But before we can place the system of education pursued in our schools under the category of such a system, it is necessary for us to see whether the object, which has called it into being, and imparted to it the form and features it wears, is really so narrow and material in its character as to make any plan of instruction emanating from it liable to the remarks I have just made. The object of making a course of reading preparatory to a higher order of study would not in itself be considered as a slavish object if that higher order of study to which it refers be itself based upon that noble idea which regards education as no other than an equable culture of the various faculties of the mind. Now, therefore, the whole question regarding the character of the education received by our boys at the elementary schools reduces itself to this: what is the nature and probable influence on the mind of the course of study prescribed for the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University?

In answering this question, the most important fact which ought to be carefully kept before the mind is this. The language to which the greatest importance is attached by the University is the English—a language which is *foreign* to the Natives of this country. Now, the rules and principles which govern the acquisition of a foreign language are not the very same as those which apply to the imparting of an indigenous education. The study of languages, not to speak from a philological point of view, is then only important when its object is the collection of a large stock of ideas. The formation of a good style of writing is only a secondary object, and is in most cases dependent upon the possession of varied ideas. But as good words without good ideas are mere jottings which make no impression on the mind, so good ideas without good and appropriate words are mere obscure representations which convey no adequate meaning. The study of language, then, as one of the means for the development of the power of precise thought, should be governed by two objects—the acquisition of a large store of ideas, and the formation of a clear and correct style of composition. To attain these ends by the study of a language that is vernacular is no doubt a work of less labor than by the study of a foreign literature. A Bengalee, well read in three or four good books in his vernacular language, will write much better Bengalee than the English he will write after reading the same number of English works. In teaching, therefore, a foreign language like the English to the natives of Bengal, a severer discipline and a more systematic plan should be followed in our educational institutions than would be necessary for a purely vernacular education. For there the natural genius of the nation for the acquisition of their mother tongue would be of itself a guarantee of easy and rapid success without the enforcement of a highly rigid rule and comprehensive method of instruction. I do not mean to say that a large number of ideas can be obtained without an extensive study when that study is carried on through the medium of a vernacular tongue. But considering, as I intend to do, the case only of those who, like the boys preparing for the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University, are only in an elementary stage of progress, all that I think it proper to insist on is, that, for the purpose of rendering possible a clear statement of the few ideas that are acquired in the first six or seven years of one's educational life through the medium of a foreign language, a somewhat larger study of literature and a more correct and minute knowledge of grammar would be necessary than if the same ideas were required to be explained in vernacular words. For,

I repeat once more, in expressing thoughts and sentiments in words which a person has lisped in his cradle, a sort of natural facility and intuitive tact and correctness accomplish the same purposes which, in adopting the words of a foreign vocabulary, would require, as an indispensable preliminary, a systematic study of grammar and literature.

With these remarks before us we are in a position to understand the exact nature of the system of teaching followed in our elementary schools. The subjects taught to our boys are English, Bengalee (or Sanscrit), History, Geography and Grammar. This is a sufficiently large course no doubt. But is the result of the teaching, received in all these subjects, anything like that which would be called education in the properest sense of the word? Whatever be the amount of historical knowledge gained by our boys previous to their entrance into the University, one thing is certain that, when they pass the matriculation examination, they are miserably deficient in both those qualifications without which education is a misnomer and a work of fruitless labor. The ideas they possess are few and obscure, and the words at their command for expressing those ideas are fewer and obscurer still. The true object of education is to form the *proper man*. Now the *proper man* is he whose ideas are at once useful, numerous and clear, who expresses those ideas in a clear and correct language, and whose feelings, moral, social and religious, are at once harmoniously developed and innocently active. The course of study prescribed for the entrance examination of the Calcutta University is purely intellectual. Its influence on the feelings is little or nothing. It comprehends no treatise on theoretical or practical morality, no treatise on theology, no treatise on sociology. But we cannot blame the University for its neglect in providing some means of emotional culture in the course of study it has adopted for its matriculation examination. I am rather inclined to think that the University is almost precluded by political and metaphysical considerations from providing a distinct apparatus for the education of the feelings—an apparatus, as distinct and specific in its aims as that which exists for the education of the juvenile *intellect*. The education of the feelings is perhaps of greater importance than that of the understanding. But how that can be conducted in our elementary schools is a question for the joint consideration of schoolmasters and inspectors of schools. But we have every right to see how the purely intellectual training of our boys is carried on under the systems of study and examination prevailing in our University. I have said that Bengalee boys, when they pass the entrance examination, are

poor in ideas and poorer still in words, and I think I will be able to prove, after the remarks I have made on the manner of studying a foreign language, that the University, as it exists at present, is one of the main causes of that poverty of thought and expression. A variety of useful ideas can only be acquired, apart from experience and observation, by a variety of useful reading. In our schools, however, the course of reading is extremely meagre. It consists of three or four Readers as they are called, along with an elementary book on the principles of English grammar and some very ordinary treatise on political geography. I leave out mathematics and the vernacular language from my consideration, as I have very little to say about them in connection with that elevated point of view from which it is my purpose in this paper to examine the present system of education in the Calcutta University. Now, whoever has seen the three or four reading books that are taught to our boys must admit that the course of study in the elementary schools is anything but of that diversified character and superior quality which alone can supply good ideas and good models of composition to the docile and susceptible school boy. The age at which students are allowed to appear at the entrance examination being sixteen, there are, supposing school education to commence at eight, eight entire years for instructing our boys in a way which would fill their minds with beautiful ideas, enable them to express their thoughts in a clear and correct language, and afford their faculties ample opportunities of self-exertion and improvement. But the schoolmaster knows that, for preparing his boys for the first examination of the University—the purpose for which he lives and works—he need not adopt a course of study which, by including at least some of the third or fourth class writers in the English language, would not fail of producing that most sterling effect—the creation in the soft and susceptible mind of the school boy of a taste for knowledge and the development of his intelligence as a self-relying power. I would not require the University of Calcutta to enlarge the course of literary studies for the entrance examination, for a mere quantitative or qualitative extension of that course, without, at the same time, adopting the improvements to be stated below, will do very little in the way of making the system of instruction in our schools much more intellectual and much less mechanical than at present it is. At the entrance examination certain questions are set to the students, and these being questions entirely confined to the course they have studied for two or three years continually, can be answered to the full satisfaction of the examiner by all but those who have the misfortune not to possess any memory at all. I say memory, and not

intelligence, because, in answering questions on a subject which has been read a dozen times in three successive years, intelligence in a boy, if there is any, becomes of no use or account to him, inasmuch as the dullest lad who is competing with him, if only he possesses ordinarily strong powers of recollection, will perhaps stand superior to him in the general result of the examination. From the manner, therefore, in which the entrance examination is conducted, it seems to me that there is literally no necessity for the adoption of a course of study in our elementary schools sufficiently large and varied to supply an amusing variety of ideas to the mind and accustom the intellect to rely more upon its own resources than upon the authority of the schoolmaster. The true purpose of an examination is to test the development of intelligence. But to suppose that the extent to which a boy's intelligence is developed may be determined by examining him on a subject which has been explained to him at least six times in three years, would be as gross a mistake as the supposition that a person who can criticise Corneille and Racine in the words in which Mr. Hallam has spoken of them in his History of Literature, has really read Corneille and Racine, with the critical acumen and philosophical profundity of Mr. Hallam. *That*, I am inclined to think, is the only good test of intelligence which includes something besides what has formed the course of study. If our University could, therefore, make the result of the entrance examination dependent in some measure upon the paraphrase, analysis or explanation of easy sentences which form no part of the course which is professedly the subject of the examination, they would not only ascertain that which it is most important to ascertain—the extent to which the intelligence of the boys is developed—but they would also compel the introduction into the elementary schools of a system of study, which, instead of appealing only to the memory, will act more powerfully upon the understanding and give rise to habits of reflection and independent judgment. The most important effect of such a change in the character of the entrance examination would be that it will render the examination somewhat vague and indefinite. But that very vagueness will be, I am sure, the cause of an infusion of a spirit of independence into the system of instruction followed in our schools—a spirit most useful in preserving the intellectual character of a scheme of study or at least in preventing it from being degenerated into a purely empirical discipline. The improvement I have suggested will give numerous ideas to our school boy, will perhaps enable him to perceive their relations to each other, will

give him a good stock of words for use. But he shall still stand in need of another qualification equal in importance and utility to the possession of sound ideas and sweet sounding words. He must learn how to use his words in a clear and intelligible manner. A more varied study than is at present pursued in our schools will go a great way to acquaint the diligent and attentive student with some of the niceties and idioms of the English language, and a searching and systematic knowledge of the principles of grammar and composition will serve the student a good deal more in making a right use of the words he has learnt. But the place which the University of Calcutta has assigned to grammar and the principles of composition in the course it has fixed for the entrance examination, cannot afford any guarantee whatsoever for their systematic study in our elementary schools. Grammar is examined by our University as a part of poetry and prose. Questions upon it form part of the papers on literature proper. But the candidate who knows that he will obtain by answering the questions on pure literature only, at least the minimum of marks required for passing will almost entirely neglect his grammar. The study of grammar and composition must, therefore, be made compulsory, and that can be done only by making them the subjects of a distinct examination. But besides producing a neglect of grammatical studies, the practice which the University has adopted of combining grammar and literature proper has contributed not a little to engender a careless study of literature itself. For it is clear that, when a certain number of marks is to be obtained in one single subject, that subject will be studied with far greater care and attention than if the same number of marks be attached to two or three distinct subjects collectively. Grammar, it is worthy of remark, forms a subject of examination by itself in the London University.

The University, I think, is wrong in announcing the literary course for the Entrance Examination two or three years before that examination is to take place. One mischievous effect of this practice is, that it most injuriously interferes with such a variety of agreeable studies in our elementary schools as is alone calculated to develop the powers of the infant mind, make it acquainted with a pleasing diversity of useful ideas, and give it a certain amount of command over words, and facility in their use. But for the present system of teaching the same book for two or three years continually—a system rendered possible by the practice, just mentioned, adopted by the University—our boys would leave their

schools better trained than they are at present. And it is, I think, of vital importance to bear in mind that the repeated study of the same subject, by producing a sort of disgust for it, exercises a very injurious influence on the healthful play and harmonious development of the various mental faculties. It fails to develop, in a proper manner, the only power of the mind which it has any tendency to develop—the memory; for the best and most philosophical culture of the power of reminiscence does not consist in a technical or empirical study of a particular fact but in observing its various relations to other facts. And the Native lad at school, who is kept to the exclusive study of the same ideas for three continued years, is denied the opportunity of acquiring such other ideas as are not only useful in themselves but important as aids to a memory philosophically trained. The very same consequences, a limitation of the number of ideas that are presented to the youthful mind, and a partial and constrained exercise of its powers, which, in my opinion, are owing to the study for so long a time of the literary course for the matriculation examination, are also, I apprehend, the result of the study for three and sometimes for four years in succession of those historical works which the University has virtually fixed once for all for its Entrance Examination. If, however, the historical text-books were altered every year, by far the largest portion of that time, which is now uselessly spent in repeated mutterings of the self-same words, would be at the disposal of the student for acquiring a greater knowledge of history than is attainable from the historical course of the University.

The general effects of the practices of the Calcutta University here described have been sufficiently explained in the preceding pages. One observation now remains to be added. The University of Calcutta, if it means to be a really useful institution, must consider itself as an agent of civilization and regulate its conduct with a steady view to the function which belongs to it as such an agent. Now the University as an instrument of progress can act only through the minds of those whom it examines and rewards. And those minds will be competent or not to play the part which is reserved for them in the future civilization of this country according as the education they receive under the auspices of the Calcutta University is scientific or empirical. From what has been said before, it will be clear to every body that the system of intellectual training, which, under our University as an examining body, obtains in the elementary schools is purely empirical in its nature and effects. It stifles or prevents the development of almost all the

faculties of the mind save memory, and it has been seen that even the little culture which the memory receives is founded on a false and unphilosophical principle. Nowhere do we find any necessity for rousing to action the powers of thought and reflection that are in the student himself; and knowledge being acquired with the mechanical tact of a parrot, that most pernicious habit of ignoring self and relying upon authority with child-like helplessness in matters even of the slightest difficulty, is produced in by far the majority of the boys receiving instruction in our schools. It is manifest that persons whose whole education is carried on under influences like these are not educated in the properest sense of the term, and that civilization, which to the individual is not so much a privilege as a *trial*, will, after ruining them, be ruined by them in the end. I think I will be able to illustrate these views far better when I come to examine the higher studies of the Calcutta University. For the present, to complete my examination of the system of education prevailing in our schools, I will remark that the suggestions I have made seem to deserve special consideration at the hands of the University. They will, I think, when carried out, render the studies of our boys for the Entrance Examination more difficult than they are at present, and the University itself as an examining body much less definite than it is. But every objection founded on these considerations will appear groundless on a careful perusal of the following extract from the address of the Chancellor of the University of Bombay:—"It must be recollected that the maintenance of a high standard even in the matriculation examination has an important effect upon general education throughout the country; for the schools from which the students are drawn, are compelled by the circumstance to maintain a high standard, and thus it is that indirectly, by maintaining the severity of the matriculation examination, the University establishes a higher standard of education for those whose means or prospects do not lead them to aspire to that of a University."

Before examining the higher studies of the Calcutta University, I must take especial care to make it understood that, my object in this paper is not so much to determine and describe the effects which the University course of study has already produced upon the minds of the rising generation of Bengalees, as to ascertain the fitness of that course for the exigencies, real and contingent, of a progressive civilization. In making this the purpose of my essay, I have been influenced mainly by the consideration, that an educational institution, in order to be powerful and permanent, must

regard itself as the nursery of minds, which by virtue of the inflexible laws of social progress, will either give a progressive impetus to civilization, or cause it to falter, stagnate and disappear. And admitting with a slight modification the dictum laid down by the celebrated Mr. Buckle, that knowledge is at once the cause and vital principle of civilization, I think it proper, in the first place, to define the nature of that knowledge which feeds civilization and keeps it alive. It is my firm conviction, that the knowledge, which constitutes the basis and regulating force of those most complex and conflicting facts and principles which have received the generic name of civilization, must be a knowledge, not formal or technical, but scientific—a knowledge which possesses in itself the means of its own advancement. And it requires, I think, little thought or reflection to understand that scientific knowledge—knowledge which can improve itself—is not a knowledge of bare facts, but of facts as illustrating and establishing laws and principles. Now, knowledge being the effect of education, *that*, I think, is education in the properest sense of the word, which calls forth that power of thought, which alone can render knowledge permanently progressive, and the mind itself capable of adapting itself to those altered forms of social and political existence, which the ever-increasing multiplicity of historical events are so often and so inevitably calling into existence. And here, I think, I may usefully quote the definition which the great John Stuart Mill* has given of an education which is calculated to form great minds. "The very corner stone of an education intended to form great minds," says Mr. Mill, "must be the recognition of the principle, that the object is to call forth the greatest possible quantity of intellectual *power*, and to inspire the intensest *love of truth*; and this without a particle of regard to the results to which the exercise of that power may lead, even though it should conduct the pupil to opinions diametrically opposite to those of his teachers."

* Dissertations and Discussions, Vol. I p. 201.

I think I have now got the requisite data upon which to build my speculations about the present system of education in the Calcutta University. I shall now examine the higher studies of the University with special reference to the quality they possess of disposing the Bengalee mind to *think* in a philosophical spirit, to analyse facts and to generalise them for the sake of discovering laws and principles.

I shall first take up the historical studies of the University. I am inclined to think that the historical course of the University is

liable to two serious objections. In the first place, I cannot discover any principle, defensible either by philosophy or common sense, in the practice of teaching the history of England before the histories of Greece and Rome. The normal condition of intellectual progress is a gradual advance from the study of the simplest phenomena to that of phenomena of slowly increasing complexity. The study of the complex before the simple is not only an injurious burden on the understanding, but an inversion of the only process of intellectual culture which is natural, and, therefore, useful and profitable. Now, it is known to everybody that the phenomena of modern history are much more complex, much more difficult to understand than those of ancient history. The intellect of mankind, as a body, obeys the same law of gradual development which governs the expansion of the individual intellect. And as it is the intellect which is, in the last place, the cause of all those social and political institutions, which, at any particular period of history, constitute its most general fact, it must appear, as a logical inference, upon a comparison of the ancient intellect with the modern, that ancient history is far more simple than modern history. But we have history itself to bear us out in the remark we have made upon the distinctive characters of ancient and modern history. The Servian constitution with its tribes, centuries and equites must be regarded only as a faint resemblance and highly rudimentary form of the British legislature with its lords spiritual and lords temporal, representatives of shires, representatives of towns, representatives of universities and representatives of counties palatine. The feudal system with its lord paramount, barons, tenants-in-capite, vassals, retainers and serfs is a much more complex institution—an institution including many more distinct and conflicting rights, duties, and interests than the military tenures or military colonies of the later Roman Empire. The different ages of history, ancient, barbarous, mediæval and modern, are so many intellectual strata, every one of which is a natural and necessary consequence of that which preceded it. And as the secondary or Mesozoic age, in geology, cannot be understood without the primary or Palœozoic age, or the tertiary without the secondary, so the history of barbarous Europe is found to be obscure without a knowledge of ancient Rome, and the political and religious revolutions of the sixteenth century without a comprehensive study of mediæval history. The most natural order, therefore, of studying history, is to commence with the annals of Greece and Rome, if not with those of Persia, Assyria and Egypt, and then to pass on, with successive steps, through barbarous and mediæval Europe, to modern history. It is only

such a study of history that can enable a person to comprehend and to grasp with ease and firmness the principles which have guided the historical development of the human race. It is only such a course of reading that can enable the student of history to view the vast mass of historical phenomena from the remotest age of which there is any trustworthy record to the time in which we live as a long but well-concatenated series of causes and effects. It is only by such a progressive study that the power is derived of analysing into their component elements and of generalising into comprehensive principles the complex and heterogeneous facts and phenomena of history and of predicting with more or less accuracy the general character or salient features of any particular period in the annals of a nation or community of nations. This is the only philosophical or scientific method of studying history. When, however, the Calcutta University requires the student to learn the history of England before that of Greece and Rome, it reverses the natural, I might almost say, logical order of historical study and gives birth to a knowledge of history highly superficial, empirical, and mechanical. By giving a chronological preference to England over Greece and Rome, it has compelled the students in our colleges and schools to form an idea of history little better than that which would arise from an exclusive perusal of the chronicles of Antonio Agapida, or the half-historical, half-biographical diary of Pepys or Evelyn. It must be quite manifest that, with an idea so low as this, history cannot possibly be regarded as a branch of knowledge, which requires for its correct understanding a constant and assiduous exercise of the powers of thought and reflection—a predominant habit of careful analysis and patient synthesis. Nor, if the idea were better and the necessary qualifications in existence, would it, I think, be possible for the Indian student to derive from the history of the human race a knowledge of those general principles which form a code of practical rules for the guidance, as well of nations, as of individuals, and to make it the instrument of an intellectual discipline of the most rigid and elevated character. For, to make use of an illustration, how difficult must it be to realise the essential meaning and real characteristic of Anglo-Saxon monarchy without a knowledge of the causes which led to the establishment of barbarous royalty in the woods and forests of Germany. And, again, how impossible would it appear to the student of English history to extract from the incidental description of the Crusade, headed by the Lion-hearted Richard, the true meaning and object of those holy wars which first laid the founda-

tion of commerce and democracy in Europe,—two things which have contributed more than any other to enlighten mankind and render them happy in civil society and prosperous in political partnership. These are two very *general* illustrations, but they will suffice to convince every reflecting man, that a study of English history, unless grounded upon a knowledge of what passed in Rome throughout her glorious existence, and what happened in Europe after her downfall, must be attended with considerable difficulties and productive not only of a great waste of time, but also of a sort of historical knowledge too superficial and mechanical to possess in itself the means or conditions of a high order of intellectual discipline. Thus, the student of English history, writing a discourse on the nature of Papal sovereignty in the 13th and 14th centuries, would fail to make it complete in descriptive details and perfect in philosophic breadth and accuracy, unless he possessed a knowledge of the history of the Papacy on the Continent of Europe and its relations to the history of the early Church. Great and general principles are essential to correct reasoning, and considering, as we may legitimately do, that the history of England is a portion and a very peculiar portion of the general history of Europe, the conclusion is inevitable that the student of English history must be a highly superficial thinker, inasmuch as his historical syllogisms will be materially defective in respect of the soundness of their major premises. Besides, it must be acknowledged by every person that, when certain facts are studied, apart from the great system of facts and principles which includes them, and to which they are subordinate, the mind, however strong its powers may be, will fail to use those facts in any other way, or to view them in any other light, than that in which a particular writer has placed them before it. Thus, what with a general knowledge of European history could be done by the student of English history, it becomes simply impossible for him to do with a knowledge of England alone. He will take more time to understand a particular fact than he would otherwise require, and he will be unable to make that fact the basis of a historical argument, which, by its wide applicability and comprehensive scope, would be the means of a severe mental discipline. It is upon considerations like these that I venture to say that the study of English history in the Calcutta University is not merely the cause of an intellectual activity of the most mechanical character, but also of an historical knowledge highly empirical and unproductive. And when we further consider, that the boys, who are made to study English

history before acquiring a knowledge of ancient Rome and primæval Europe, are boys who have only passed their matriculation examination, the force of our argument regarding the empiricism and unproductiveness of the result seems to be increased a hundredfold. A study of English history, not preceded by that of the annals of Rome and early Europe, is a matter of peculiar, I had better say, insurmountable difficulty on account of the unavoidable necessity that exists, to prevent cramming, for making a multiplicity of suppositions without which even the Roman conquest—the very first incident in the history of England—would be almost unintelligible. And it is this peculiarity in the study of English history that fosters *cramming* in the Indian colleges much to the prejudice of a healthy intellectual activity. Modern Europe has arisen out of Barbarous Europe and Europe under the Western Empire. To one, therefore, who wishes to make history the means of a vigorous mental culture, an understanding of English history in the first instance, if possible, must be dependent upon historical assumptions which, by their number and variety, would be fatal to a free and easy development of the youthful intellect. But Rome grew out of no pre-existing state of things. It was a city first founded by some descendant of Æneas in the eighth century before Christ. The study of Roman history is, therefore, exactly a study which is suited to the capacities of a mind in the first stage of its culture. But there is another consideration which makes it desirable that the history of Rome should be studied before that of England or Modern Europe. The phenomena of ancient history, as I have already said, are far more simple than those of modern history. The foreign policy of ancient Rome, for instance, as guided solely by a desire of territorial acquisitions, is much more easy to understand than the foreign policies of modern European states in which the principle of the Balance of Power, leaving all particulars aside, is itself a principle of the greatest historical complexity. And as a sound intellectual training can only result from a study which proceeds from an examination of simple phenomena to that of phenomena of slowly-increasing complexity, it must be manifest to every body, that, in order to make the study of history the instrument of a solid mental discipline, the University of Calcutta should make our boys read the history of Rome before that of England or British India. It is no argument for the University to say that the history of Rome forms a part of the historical course for the entrance examination. For, if I am not much mistaken with regard to the true character of history, the history of Rome contained in Mr. Yonge's Landmarks is, I am

inclined to think, no history of Rome at all. It is also, I think, worthy of particular notice, that the study of the history of England or Modern Europe, in the manner in which it is carried on under the regulations of the Calcutta University, cannot fail to be a most mechanical and superficial study considered merely as an exercise of the resuscitative faculty. The best means of keeping particular facts before the mind is to study them in connection with those general laws or principles which they either establish or illustrate. To suppose, therefore, that the facts of English history can be properly understood and safely remembered without a knowledge of ancient Rome and Continental Europe, would be as gross a mistake as that Lamartine's History of the Restoration of Monarchy in France can be understood and preserved in the memory without a previous study of his History of the Girondists. The youthful mind, thrown at once into the intricate mass of phenomena which make up the history of England, finds itself incapable of discovering or comprehending those general principles which to the historical memory are like a spinal column supporting the vast frame-work of particular facts. Admitting, therefore, for the sake of argument, what a writer in the *Calcutta Review* has said, that the object of all academical studies previous to the honor examination is to obtain information,* I am yet of opinion that the historical studies of our University ought to be remodelled with particular reference to the remarks I have made above, in order that cramming may be rooted out from our educational institutions.

* See *Calcutta Review* for August 1864. Art. *Studies of the Calcutta University.*

Another material defect in the historical studies of the Calcutta University, is the entire neglect of that portion of the history of the world which is comprised in Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. The historical course for the honor examination consists of the history of the sixteenth century and Guizot's History of Civilization in Europe. Now the history of Europe, or rather of the world, from the decline of ancient Rome to the period of the revival of learning, is a natural introduction to the history of Europe during the sixteenth century. And the student, who would make a scientific use of the facts he will learn from a study of the historical literature regarding the sixteenth century, must obtain some knowledge of what happened in Europe during what are called the Dark Ages.

If there be anything like truth in these observations, I think the historical course of the Calcutta University will seem to stand in need of some such change as is indicated in the following syllabus :—

For the entrance examination.

(*a*) History of Bengal and (*b*) a general knowledge of ancient history.

For the first examination in arts.

(*a*) History of Rome, and (*b*) a brief knowledge of Greek history.

For the B. A. examination.

(*a*) History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, as contained in Dr. Smith's Abridgment of Gibbon, (*b*) History of India during the Hindoo and Mahommedan Periods, (*c*) History of the Jews, (*d*) First three or four Chapters of Buckle's History of Civilization.

For the Honor examination.

(*a*) A general history of Modern Europe, as contained in Hallam's Middle Ages, &c., (*b*) History of England, (*c*) History of British India, (*c*) Principles of Historic Evidence, (*d*) Buckle's History of Civilization.

It must be clear to every body that the historical course detailed above is exactly suited to the capacities of an intellect, which in its pursuit of knowledge cannot make itself free of those infirmities for which gradual advance from the simple to the complex is a necessary condition of successful study. It will be also seen that the course, giving, as it does, a complete picture of human society through all its progress from the patriarchal form which characterized it in early Rome to the highly democratical and communistic shape it now wears, is alone fitted to be the instrument of that kind of intellectual discipline which constitutes the true object of education. A good system of instruction and examination in connection with a course of historical studies like this will effectually prevent cramming in the Calcutta University.

The second great objection that may be brought against the method of historical study in the Calcutta University is this. The University does not recognise the importance of physical geography in producing a scientific conception of history. When the history of a country is studied in connection with its physical

geography, the history becomes invested with all the charm and sublimity of natural philosophy. Our University may expel Abercrombie and call in Herschel or Somerville or Hughes. The neglect of the study of political geography in consequence of its virtual non-recognition in the examinations of the Calcutta University has been a main cause of the mechanical character of the historical knowledge obtained by our boys. History, as a particular study, cannot dispense with an intimate acquaintance with political geography. The campaigns of Marlborough and Wellington can hardly be intelligible or interesting without a minute geographical knowledge of the countries which still proclaim their glory and their might. The under-graduate of the Calcutta University, who knows that one or two questions from geography count as nothing in a paper consisting of 12 or 16 questions, systematically neglects that subject and studies the movements of armies and the journeys of kings and queens not by the aid of maps which illustrate history, make it interesting and ensure its reminiscence, but by repeated readings which only dull the faculty of memory. It is no wonder that the knowledge which is acquired so mechanically is lost so soon. The examinations of the Calcutta University ought to be modified in a way that will render a knowledge of geography indispensable to academical success. When history will be read in connection with political and physical geography, and in the order I have set forth, much of the disgust and indifference now evinced in its study will undoubtedly disappear.

The study of physical nature in a true scientific method is one of the most powerful instruments of a solid intellectual culture. I have, therefore, beheld with real regret the study of physical science left to the option of our students and left so during the vice-chancellorship of one of its most philosophical advocates, the Honorable Henry Sumner Maine. An analytical examination of an unknown chemical compound by the student himself, requiring, as it does, the closeness of a geometrical reasoning, combined with that deep and liberal philosophy of hypotheses so essential to investigations in mixed mathematics, is no doubt a means of mental training of the most invigorating character. A study of physical science, based upon those rules of inductive investigation which guide the practical physicist would do more than anything else to impart a manly tone to the Bengali mind and impress it with the conviction that earthly existence is really a state of struggle in which all but the most vigorous intellect and energetic character must succumb to the pressure of some hard external reality. To promote a study so useful as this, the University may

exclude mixed mathematics from its B. A. course and supply its place by a curriculum of physical studies, and may, at the same time, compel the adoption of a method, scientific as well as practical, in the prosecution of those studies.

Considering, as I do, that of all academical studies, history, mathematics and physical science are best fitted to "call forth the greatest possible quantity of intellectual *power*," and knowing too that history is as much dependent upon physical science for its systematic study as is physical science upon mathematics, I think it proper to observe, that the creation out of the interest of the Prem Chand Roy Chand Fund of two fellowships like those of Oxford and Cambridge, one for the study for five years of mathematics and physical science, the other for the study of physical science and history, would have been, speaking from a purely educational point of view, a benefit of the most substantial character to this country.

The time and space I have devoted to the subject of this essay leave it in my power to say only a few words about the ethical studies of the Calcutta University. Moral science is a part of the B. A. course, and it is taught from Mr. Wayland's treatise on that subject. The object of all moral studies must be either the development of intellectual power, or the culture of the feelings, or the acquistion of a knowledge of sound maxims of conduct. To make morality a means of emotional culture, it must be provided with a religious basis. For a system of morality which, like the theory of utility, is not religious in its spirit, is more speculative than exhortative in its character. But the University cannot teach such a system of morality simply because it cannot touch the subject of religion. Of the other two objects of moral education, nothing has been hitherto accomplished by the University. For, as a treatise on the theory of conscience, supplemented by what the natives of this country call a figment of the imagination; and regard with feelings which cannot dispose the mind of the pupil to that reverential mood which is so salutary to it as a humble recipient of instruction—the theory of Christian revelation—Mr. Wayland's theoretical ethics neither contains materials for those moral speculations which serve to call forth the powers of thought and reflection, nor provides a code of practical rules for the guidance of individual conduct. If the University be unwilling to exclude theoretical morality from its B. A. course, it may, with greater benefit to the student than he can possibly derive from the present method of ethical study, substitute Jouffroy

for Wayland. But as I am of opinion that the study of practical morality, besides being productive of a knowledge that is definite and peculiarly valuable as a code of truths which has undergone the crucial test of experience and observation, is as good an instrument of intellectual discipline as any theoretical study, I should like to see the exclusive adoption of practical morality and jurisprudence in the B. A. course of the Calcutta University. It is no answer to this to say that practical morality is taught to the candidate for honor in mental and moral science. For as the study of Wayland is simply useless, even so low a consideration as that of economy would require something else that is really valuable to be substituted for it.

Notwithstanding the suggestion I have just made, I think it proper to make the following remarks for the sake of setting the object of this discourse in the clearest light. All systems of ethical philosophy, except that which is founded on the doctrine of a natural *moral sense*, are more or less the result of analysis and observation. They are the effect and expression of that change in the method of examining facts which Lord Bacon has had the glory of inaugurating. They attest the influence of inductive thought in the domain of theoretical ethics. The study of these systems in the spirit of a votary of knowledge is but another name for the cultivation of habits of inductive thought and analytical discussion. The theory of conscience is essentially a deductive theory. And if it be true, which I think it is, that the most typical mind is that in which the love of deduction is in exact proportion to the love of induction, the study of systems of moral philosophy which have their basis in induction must be to the deductive mind of the Hindoo a discipline of the most wholesome character. The great intellectual crisis of the nineteenth century, the unsettlement of long accredited opinions, is the result of the progress of inductive thought. That crisis has, to a certain extent, overtaken this country. But the crisis has its advantages. Europe of the nineteenth century is far in advance of Europe of the sixteenth century. But the one only cause of the progress which Europe has made since the age of Bacon and Descartes is that spirit of inductive enquiry which has given birth to the crisis I am speaking of. How and when that crisis will settle in a definite system of beliefs is a question which will probably be answered in various ways. I am of opinion that a true solution of the crisis will be found in the reappearance of deductive thought upon the basis of those inductive discoveries which, in their present incompleteness and apparent mutual incoherencies, have produced the

scepticism which is most characteristic of the age we live in. Bengal must either relapse into a stagnant civilization or pass through a period of scepticism ending in a glorious era of right knowledge and right belief. If it be her wish to become a great country, she must think and enquire inductively for some centuries to come. She cannot receive truths upon the dictation of others. She must think them out for herself. She is not now in a condition to understand truths, for she has not yet performed that inductive analysis of facts and phenomena which is a necessary preliminary to a philosophical comprehension of laws and principles. Let the Calcutta University, in its course of studies, make it its aim to inspire in the Hindoo mind a love for inductive inquiry, and it will then be in a condition to do that work which belongs to it as one of the great civilising institutions of the country. Up to this time it has done nothing in this way. Its historical course is founded upon no principle that contemplates the formation of intellectual habits either deductive or inductive. By teaching a deductive theory of morality in connection with a theory of religion, which is believed to be false, it has made the study of ethical science unproductive of inductive thought, and of that intense love of truth which, as Mr. Mill says, is the characteristic of a truly great mind. It has virtually ignored physical science and thus taken away from the Indian student the most powerful instrument of a severe inductive training. The study of physical science is impossible without the assistance of an expensive apparatus of instruments. But the University has left it to the option of the student to read either mathematics or physical science. Now, mathematics, with the single exception of astronomy, can be learnt without the aid of instruments, and, therefore, most of our colleges and schools, influenced by mean views of economy, have discontinued the teaching of physical science. Thus the studies of the University are becoming decidedly deductive in their character, much to the prejudice of the future of Bengal.

In bringing this paper to a close, I cannot help admiring what the University of Calcutta has done in so short a period as ten years. I love the University and I revere it. I think I have been guilty of presumption in reviewing its course of studies. But my object has been chiefly to learn by mooting a question which cannot fail to be highly interesting to me. I cannot claim for my suggestions any other weight than that which attaches to them as the expression of the wants I have felt in my academical studies.

An interesting discussion took place at the conclusion of the lecture, of which the following is a summary :—

The Revd. K. M. Banerjea said that, in his opinion, several of the points discussed by the lecturer were worthy of serious consideration. He did not, however, think it proper to consider the University of Calcutta responsible for all the defects of education which had been noticed by the lecturer. The University, said he, is still an infant institution, and is only an examining body, having little or nothing to do with the task of *instruction*. The University only fixes particular courses of study and is certainly so far responsible. But it is the different schools and colleges which actually teach those courses; and therefore whatever results, good or bad, arise from their study are to be mainly attributed to the manner of working of those schools and colleges and not to the University. The lecturer, he said, had noticed the absence of any provision for the cultivation of *feeling* from the course of study prescribed for the Entrance Examination. Now *religious* feelings, he said, could not be made a subject of instruction by the University, for reasons beyond its control. The Senate is composed of Protestants, Roman Catholics, Hindus, and Mahomedans. In a body so composed, no one religion can by rule be preferred to any other. It must be also remembered that Government has a controlling power, and that religious non-interference is a fundamental principle of the system by which England governs India. With regard to the education of the moral feelings, ample provision for it, said he, has been made for all undergraduates in the studies for the First Examination in Arts and the examination for the Degree of B. A. The books for the Entrance Course, too are also adapted for the cultivation of high moral feelings. The remarks on the study of Grammar seemed to him to have been made without a sufficient knowledge of the means adopted by the University to ascertain grammatical proficiency. The examiners of the University, said he, look very particularly to the knowledge of Grammar displayed by the candidates they examine. Objections, he thought, might fairly be taken to the practice of announcing the literary course for the Entrance Examination two years before the examination and of keeping unchanged the historical text-books. These very points have often been mooted in the Syndicate and every consideration is given to representations on such subjects.

Dr. Chuckerbutty said that the subject discussed by Baboo Chundernath Bose was one of very great importance. His definition of education was, however, very limited. The office of education was not merely to teach literature and Grammar,—it was something more. It was, no doubt, one of its objects to secure a stock of information, but the information gained at school must necessarily be limited; much of it has to be acquired in after-life, and no amount of school education could dispense with it. One of the great defects of education in this country was that the kind of information required by children was seldom supplied. They were expected to learn the most difficult rules of Grammar and the masterpieces of English literature before they knew the names and properties of common things. They could not tell the differences between the most ordinary fishes, vegetables, fruits, and articles of daily consumption. They wanted hence the very rudiments of knowledge. Yet were they thought competent to grapple with its higher branches. This was reversing the order of nature and making men of children. Literature and History do not give all the information required for young minds. They have their own value, but there are other things besides necessary to education. Education introduces a man to the temple of knowledge; it does not give him all that

is to be found there. In other words its great aim is to fit a person for the pursuit of knowledge and to be a respectable member of society. It embraces the training of the various intellectual faculties; the formation of habits of observation, thought and study; instruction in Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, Classics, &c., as means to an end, and moral culture. With respect to moral culture it is true that religious teaching is prohibited in the Government Schools. But that need not necessarily exclude all moral instruction. The great principles of truth, justice, honesty, and charity are the same in all countries; and so there need be no obstacle to their being taught here. DR. CHUCKERBUTTY did not know if the Curriculum of the Calcutta University had in view all these objects; but he was afraid the one propounded by the lecturer did not certainly embrace them.

BABU KOYLAS CHUNDER BOSE remarked that the observations of the author of the paper on Indian University Education, coming as they did from one who had himself been graduated under the system upon the deficiencies of which he had undertaken to comment, were well worthy of consideration. In his opinion it was not so much the examiners as the examinee who were best able to point out the inadequacy of the tests annually fixed upon by the Calcutta University. BABU CHUNDERNATH BOSE, he thought, had justly insisted upon the importance of well grounding our University students in English Grammar, for he could speak from personal knowledge of a lamentable deficiency evinced in this respect by some of the graduates whose literary exercises had accidentally fallen in his way. One of the speakers who preceded him that evening, had said that it was wrong to commence teaching Grammar to young students, thus unnecessarily loading their minds with rules and technicalities which they could then hardly understand, and further that Grammar did not come within the Curriculum of studies for English Schools. He (the speaker) was not aware whether such was the case in England, for he remembered to have met with allusions in many books to English Grammar Schools where a penny was charged as a fee for teaching Grammar and half-penny more for morals. But even if it were the case, the analogy, he thought, could not hold good as regards the education of the people of this country who have to learn a foreign tongue and to whom the study of Grammar was the only golden road of being able to read and write English correctly. He thought that the B. As. and the M. As. of the Calcutta University by exhibiting their inaccuracy of grammar and spelling would only afford a handle to those Europeans who delight in calling them a half-educated set.

BABU JODUNATH GHOSE said, with reference to the remarks made by the REVD. K. M. BANERJEA on the character and position of the Calcutta University as an Educational institution, that they appeared to him to be wholly unfounded. Although the University, he said, does not directly regulate the method of study in the colleges and schools of Bengal, still by fixing courses of study and examining the young men of the country on some principle, whatever that be, which may be easily discovered from its annual examination papers, it exercises an indirect, but by no means an unimportant, influence as an educating authority. He also thought that MR. BANERJEA was not quite correct in saying that on the question of religious teaching the University adheres strictly to the doctrine of non-interference. For he pointed out that there is too much of Christian theology in the text-books selected by the University to make such an assertion wholly unexceptionable. The Baboo was of opinion that the lecturer was wrong in saying that the study of Mathematics and the Vernacular language did not require any particular notice, or rather any notice at

all, and also differed from him in hinking that the study of English Grammar, as a distinct study was on any account necessary.

MR. ATKINSON considered it a mistake to suppose that nothing was done towards the cultivation of morality in the schools of Bengal. There was everywhere a difficulty about religious teaching in public schools, and it might be doubted whether such teaching was any where attended with much success. At any rate it was for obvious reasons impossible to attempt it here. It by no means followed that a pure morality might not be inculcated. And incidentally, he believed, that much was done in this direction by the schools and the University. Certainly in the books that were used the moral tone was, for the most part, all that could be desired, and this could not be altogether without effect either on the teachers or the taught. If, however, the lecturer meant to urge, as an objection, that systems of morality were not taught in the schools, he admitted the fact and justified it. The science of morals involved abstract questions of extreme difficulty, and was quite out of place in the school stage of education. It was quite time enough to enter on the study when the University stage commenced. Such a study, moreover, was in no case likely to produce great practical effects upon the life and conduct. Indeed he exceedingly doubted whether school instruction in religion had ever much effect in that direction, though no doubt the personal character of a schoolmaster by an example of high aims and earnest devotion might and often did produce the most valuable and lasting results. Practical religion and practical morality were most effectually learnt at home from the example and teaching of parents and the other social influences which surround us in childhood.

The lecturer had laid much stress upon the extent to which cramming was encouraged by the University system. Now he entirely agreed with those who thought that cramming was a serious evil.

It was observable, however, that very opposite opinions were held on this subject by men of great eminence. The late Vice-Chancellor of the University, he might remind them, disbelieved in the evils attributed to cram. He did not share MR. MAINE'S opinion on this point and he was anxious to do all that could be done to mitigate what he acknowledged to be an evil, but he feared that cramming was a necessary concomitant in any system of competitive examinations, and he believed it would be impossible to eradicate it so long as these examinations retained the importance that is now attached to them. The same evil was felt and deplored in every country, but it had hitherto been found that those who were ready to cram and those who were anxious to be crammed were more than a match for public examiners and for the authorities who regulated the examinations.

MR. WOODROW remarked that the standard for the University Examinations was fixed at the foundation of the University after careful consideration by the most experienced educationalists in this part of India. It was decided that the age of entrance should be sixteen, and consequently the general length of study in school previous to matriculation was about nine years. The Missionary and Government Institutions then occupied almost the whole of the educational field; they had their respective school courses, and these courses were taken for the requirements at the Entrance Examination.

The Missionaries were represented by DR. DUFF, DR. KAY, DR. MULLENS and DR. OGILVIE; the Government institutions by the Director of Public Instruction and some educational officers. Both parties had to give way on certain points, and the standard finally adopted was the result of repeated discussions.

"I was myself present at all the meetings and know that the decision was a "compromise, and as such, not quite satisfactory to either party. No statement "could be further from the fact than one representing the standard as having "been selected hastily, and without sufficient consideration. There was abund- "ant consultation. The Committee met almost every week, and the members "were fairly tired out—I speak from the recollection of my own feelings—when "at last the course was settled.

"If any one can suggest a feasible means of teaching boys in nine years "a higher standard than the present entrance; every practical teacher will be "glad to hear how it is to be done. The complaint from the Mofussil is that "the introduction of Sanskrit has rendered the course too high, and that many "boys cannot manage to get through the work in the time appointed. Of course "some clever lads master the scheme before the age of sixteen, but for one boy "ready before sixteen, there are a score not ready at seventeen.

"I may mention that the present entrance is about half a year lower than "the junior scholarship standard in Collegiate Schools in 1854. Scholars from "zillah schools previous to the establishment of University held their scholarships "in the school department of a college for one year, and consequently entered "the colleges better prepared than they now do. Assuming that in ability and "industry they were equal to the present race of candidates, it would follow "that the old senior scholars after four years study, were about half a year "more advanced than the present graduates. The present B. As have to pass "absolutely in six branches, and failure in one causes absolute exclusion. I am "of opinion that this rule has been carried out too rigorously. I think that only "English should be absolutely insisted upon, and that the other subjects should "bear marks, but that failure in them should not be tantamount to absolute failure. "I prefer the old plan to the one now in use. Then a man good in languages "could study his speciality, and almost or entirely give up Mathematics, whilst "the Mathematician could afford to be ill-prepared in Moral Philosophy or some "other subject. The old system secured a higher standard of proficiency than "is gained now, for men had not then to spend time over uncongenial pursuits.

"Such of the old senior scholars as stayed five or six years were, I think, "superior to most of the present M. As. I believe that greater efficiency would "be attained if, keeping the pass marks as at present, failure in one branch were "allowed in the first Arts, and failure in two of the B. A., while the total of "the passing marks were raised to one-third of the head mark so as to exclude "those miserably prepared students who now first manage to scrape through in "all subjects, and who are a dead weight and grievous burden to colleges "oppressed with their attendance."

The PRESIDENT was of opinion that it is very useful and necessary that the University Examinations should be based on recognized text books. It is only by thus limiting the area of reading and thought, that the University can venture to make its examinations other than superficial. With good text books, however as a guide to the student's knowledge, an examiner may easily guage that knowledge and measure the student's mental calibre, without putting a single question which could be answered by the aid of memory alone. He said that he was not so well acquainted with the course of studies in the University of Calcutta as to feel himself in a position to speak with any degree of certainty and confidence about its merits or defects. But his experience in England was such as to incline him to think that cramming might be prevented by examinations properly conducted.

HEALTH.

2.—*On the uses of Narcotics and Stimulants and their effects on the human constitution. By* Babu Kanny Loll Dey.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

As a sequel to my paper on the laws of Health, which I had the honor of reading at the last meeting of this Association, I propose in this paper to treat of the narcotics and stimulants, embracing therein all the drugs and beverages used either for excitement or intoxication, and to view their uses and effects in relation to health.

In examining this subject, I must guard against the common error of taking a one-sided view of the question, in which many in the fervour of enthusiasm overlook facts and principles to the great disparagement of truth and science.

I will take first for review the known varieties of the most important drugs used as intoxicating agencies, giving, where practicable, their chemical composition and describing the properties of the constituents. The beverages or stimulants properly so called will come last for consideration. In treating of them, I will devote some space to the description of some of the commonest forms of adulteration of wines, as many serious evils to the system may be traced to these adulterations as much as to abuses of excess and intemperance.

It appears from the universal use of narcotics and stimulants amongst all races and tribes of mankind in some form or other, that the craving for such excitement arises from a natural want, and that the same instinct which drives man as well as the inferior animals to seek for those healthy aliments which contribute to their bodily support and nourishment compels him to seek for these indulgences, hence it may be presumed that their use is a necessity of life.

Adhering to the plan I have laid down for the treatment of this subject, I will first describe the known varieties of the intoxicating *drugs*. The most important amongst these, as far as they are known, are, 1*st*, tobacco, 2*nd*, gunja, and its companion species, churus, sidhee, bhang, subjee, majun and khatta; 3*rd*, opium, chundoo, and gooly; 4*th*, tarry, and 5*th*, dhatoora, or thorn apple. There are some other varieties of foreign growth

and use which, though not in common demand, may be incidentally mentioned. They are, the Siberian fungus, foxglove, henbane, belladona, cocculus indicus, and nightshade.

First, in the order of these drugs, is tobacco. It is generally consumed, as is well known, almost in the state in which it is found in nature. The changes it undergoes are very inconsiderable, and, in most cases, inexpensive before it is made fit for human consumption. It is, like many other drugs, never eaten. It is used only by chewing, smoking, and snuffing. In Europe its use is chiefly restricted to smoking and snuffing. In Asia and America all the three modes are resorted to, only there is a difference in manner according to the tastes and habits of the different people. In Europe the smoke is inhaled either from pipes or leaves rolled into spindles; in Asia the favorite plan is to manufacture the drug into a sweet and odorous compound and inhale its smoke from a pipe peculiar to the people who use it.* In Europe the weed is preferred to be consumed in its raw state; in Asia it is softened and weak-

---

* Recipe for hookah tobacco—

The subjoined two recipes are for the manufacture of smoking tobacco of standard quality. One marked A. is for the first quality, mild tobacco, and the other marked B., first quality, strong tobacco; the latter is commonly consumed by the middling classes of society.

Recipe A for making mild tobacco compound—

	Bhalsah. Parts.		Bhalsah. Parts.
Tobacco leaf powder	72	Ripe champa plantain ...	16
Powdered scents	16	Ripe jack-fruit juice ...	2
Treacle (chitta-goor sit) ...	88	Ripe pineapple juice... ...	1

The above ingredients to be thoroughly mixed, and the mixture to be allowed to ferment for six months, after which it will be fit for use.

Recipe B for making strong tobacco compound—

	Mitta-kurrah. Parts.		Mitta-kurrah. Parts.
Tobacco leaf powder ...	12	Powdered scents	2
Tobacco leaf rib powder	6	Treacle chitta-goor ...	22
Lime slaked	1		

The above ingredients, when thoroughly mixed, make the compound ready for use.

Ingredients of the powdered scents with proportions of each as used above in scenting the tobacco compound—

	Parts.		Parts.
Jatamangsi		Sumbul	5
Tawz		Cassia bark	10
Abhul		Juniper berries	2
Chundun		Sandal-wood	2
Doona		Artimesia indica leaves	5
Golab		Rose petels	5
Googul		Bedellium	1
Lunga		Cloves	1
Pucha-pât		Patchouli	5
Tambul		Capsules of xanthoxylum hastile	5
Akungee		... ...	5
Soyloze		... ...	5
Tobacco powder to serve as a vehicle for preserving the scents			49

The articles to be thoroughly powdered, mixed, and then sieved.

ened. There are races, however, in the Eastern Continent, who, like the Europeans, are fond of smoking the raw unmanufactured leaves—the Oorias, for example, and some people on the Western Coast of the Indian Peninsula, as well as some of the Islanders of the Eastern Archipelago. These smokers form, however, a very inconsiderable section of the whole Asiatic nation. In America also smoking is not unfrequent, but chewing is nearly as much a favorite method as smoking is in Asia and Europe. There it is put into the mouth, in the form of quids, which cause profuse secretion of saliva in the mouth, and it is not unfrequent or uncommon for ladies and gentlemen being seen to squirt the tobacco liquid in volumes in the midst of social gatherings, to the infinite disgust of people not accustomed to such sights.

In India also tobacco is used by chewing, but here this form of use is solely confined to the very lowest classes. Low caste men and drain coolies of the hilly tribes, as well as women of the same rank of life, are somewhat fond of this use of raw tobacco, but I have seldom found that even they prefer to chew unmixed tobacco. What they do is to take a chip only at a time and chew it with betel and nut. Cigar smoking is least in fashion, and does not seem to suit our taste, though amongst one or two comparatively barbarous races of Hindoos it finds preference.

The use of tobacco for snuffing, though nearly as universal as smoking in most countries in India, and in most of the other Asiatic countries, is not so unrestricted as the smoking of manufactured tobacco, which is the only method universally resorted to for gratifying the narcotic appetite. In this form it fully satisfies the natural demand, as well as contributes to the gratification of a luxurious indulgence peculiar to the national character. With the rich and the well-to-do classes tobacco smoking is a luxury, with the operative and the middle classes it is an indispensable necessity. It is so much a necessity that a poor laboring man may one day dispense with some of the necessaries of life, but he cannot for an hour undergo the privation of tobacco. Amongst the richer classes generally, it is apparently not indulged in so much for the gratification of an appetite as for luxury and external display. The tobacco of the rich is so much spiced and perfumed that the presence of its chief constituents is scarcely perceptible; amongst them the external paraphernalia of tobacco smoking receives greater attention than the practice itself. In large assemblies, and on occasions of festivity, the glittering smoking apparatus forms an important and a conspicuous ornament of a Native gentleman's saloon and drawing-room.

Rx. e. 119

The practice, as it obtains amongst the masses of the people, deserves more than a passing notice. A tobacco pipe of the ordinary sort as used in this country is an indispensable appendage of Native life. It is one of those things which the humblest amongst the people cannot do without; he may not have the means of providing himself with a decent water-pot; his resources may not allow him to replace his cracked and broken stone-platter with a sound one to eat his rice from, but his *hooka* and its adjuncts will be always found complete. It may be, a family is living on half rations for days together, but they have always the means of entertaining a host of visitors with *chillum* after *chillum* of tobacco for hours together. A Bengallee's passion for tobacco is a prominent feature in his national character. A laboring man amongst them is almost useless when under the privation of this indulgence. It is therefore a great mistake committed by his employers when, in view to exact from him the greatest amount of work, he is long kept without it. It is true that much of a laboring man's time is unnecessarily wasted in tobacco smoking, but if it be intended to save that time by keeping him without it, not only is that time wasted in gaping and yawning, but that which would otherwise have been devoted to work is frittered away in trifling with his tools.

It is a remarkable fact in the habits of the people of this country that the prevalence of the practice of smoking varies according to locality and circumstances. People living in the interior, and far removed from the metropolis, for example, are more addicted to this habit, and contract it earlier than those living in the metropolis itself. In villages boys in their teens are hard smokers, and no pains are taken to discourage their early indulgence; and men also are, as a rule, most passionately fond of smoking. An ordinary villageman in Bengal consumes nearly six times as much tobacco as a citizen of Calcutta. With him nothing short of 50 doses will be sufficient during his waking hours; with us eight to ten at an average are ample. In Calcutta the practice of smoking amongst boys is very uncommon. It may be mentioned to our credit that while the use of the weed for smoking is almost universal in this country, it is wholly restricted to the male population amongst the Hindoos. In the Up-country the pipe may now and then be seen in the hands of respectable Mahomedan females, but amongst Hindoo ladies it is a forbidden indulgence. We should not in this estimate take into account the practices of women who have already in graver matters set at defiance all laws, human and divine.

I have referred to the use of tobacco as being extensive in this country, but it may be remarked that this universality of use applies to the whole human race. It has been supposed that next to salt it is the article most extensively used by man. In Europe, where the duty on tobacco is throughout heavy, its use on that account is neither limited in quantity nor confined in extent. The quantity of consumption per head varies from 2 to 12lbs. Besides what is obtained by indigenous cultivation, more than 140 millions of lbs. are annually imported from America, and the share of distribution for each country ranges from three hundred thousand to 38 millions of pounds. The largest tobacco consumers in proportion to the population are the Germans, and the most abstemious are the Portuguese.

It has been estimated that nearly eight hundred millions of the human race are consumers of tobacco, and the average consumption is 70 oz. a head. The total growth is nearly two millions of tons, which at 800lbs. an acre would require more than 5½ millions of acres of rich land.* One other fact in connection with this subject may be noticed, which to those who take interest in the progress of agriculture will appear to be of no small importance. I allude to the effect of tobacco cultivation in the soil in which it is grown. Agricultural chemistry has by indisputable scientific facts demonstrated that no crop that is grown for human subsistence or luxury has so deteriorating an influence in the productive powers of a soil as tobacco. Vegetable substances when burned in the open air leave a residue of inconsumable mineral matter or ash, the quantity of which determines their exhaustive effect on the soil. The leaves of plants abound in this incombustible ash, and those of tobacco yield proportionally the largest quantity. A dried tobacco leaf when burned, it has been shown, yields from 19 to 28 per cent. of ash, or the proportion of ash to other matter is nearly one-fourth; now this ash belongs to the class of constituents in a soil which are most necessary to vegetation. The quantity of the weight of these constituents withdrawn from the soil must be in proportion to the weight of the leaves gathered; and bearing in mind the proportion of these ashes to other ingredients, the exhaustion to the soil caused by the cultivation of tobacco, may be imagined.†

I will now conclude this part of the subject with a few words on the effects of tobacco on the human constitution. It was a

---

* Johnston's Chemistry of Common Life, Vol. II, page 14.

† " " " " " 38.

subject of enquiry whether tobacco, in whatever form taken, has an injurious effect on the health of man. Those who deprecate its use on the score of its injurious tendency often base their assertion on mere fanciful theories. They have not been able to adduce a single fact based on chemical or physiological enquiries which would entitle their theories to credit. I cannot, however, forbear mentioning a theory which, though similarly unsupported, is still deserving of consideration, and our experience in some way seems to give to it a colour of truth. It has been maintained that amongst the constituents of tobacco, there are some nicotin and empyreumatic oil which have poisonous properties, and which, if inhaled by persons in green youth, when their organs are in a state of development, have a tendency to stunt their growth and give their persons an appearance of dryness and emaciation, and when tobacco is indulged in by a youthful pair, their offsprings will be of a diminutive size, sickly, and bony;—all these evils, it has been urged, are caused by the above poisons having the power of arresting the inhalation of oxygen in respiration.* Whatever truth there may be in the theory itself, the effects supposed are, I believe, in many cases apparent in this country amongst those who are addicted to an early indulgence in the use of this weed. I will quote some of the other evil effects which tobacco in any one of its forms is said to produce. When smoked to excess, specially by persons unaccustomed to its use, it produces nausea, vomiting, in some cases purging, universal trembling, staggering, convulsive movement, paralysis, torpor, and death. Another authority has the following: "Tobacco disorders the assimilating functions in general, but particularly, as I believe, the assimilation of the saccharine principle. Some poisonous principle probably of an acid nature is generated in certain individuals by its abuse, as is evident from their cachectic looks and from the dark and often greenish-yellow tint of the blood. The severe and peculiar dyspeptic symptoms sometimes produced by inveterate snuff-taking are well known; and I have more than once seen such cases terminate fatally with malignant disease of the stomach and liver."† Great smokers also are said to be liable to rodent ulcers and cancerous affections of the lips. "Excessive use of snuff blunts the sense of smell, alters the tone of voice, and occasionally produces dyspepsia and loss of appetite. In rare cases it ultimately produces apoplexy and delirium."† Dr. Pereira and

* Dr. Richardson.
† Dr. Prout.

Dr. Christison, however, agree in maintaining that no well ascertained ill effects have been shown to result from the habitual practice of smoking.

Let us now see what has to be said on the other side of the question.

The first question which naturally comes for consideration is, whence came this weed to be so extensively and universally used? Is any of its constituents possessed of the virtues which affect the animal constitution in the same way as most of the edibles are known to do? Does it contribute to the support and nourishment of the human body? But we know that none of its constituents is capable of producing any of these effects, at least in a perceptible degree, as will be apparent from the following analysis of tobacco given by Posselt and Reinmann:—

Nicotina	0·06
Concrete vegetable oil	0·01
Bitter extractive	2·87
Gum with malate of lime	1·74
Chlorophylle	0·267
Albumen and gluten	1·308
Malic acid	0·51
Lignine and a trace of starch	4·969
Salts	0·734
Silica	0·088
Water	88·280
Fresh leaves of tobacco	100·836

The only two of the above constituents which possess the nutritive principle are albumen and gluten, of which there are less than three parts in nearly 200. But whatever good they are capable of doing is more than neutralised by a strong odorous poison taken into the constitution in the consumption of tobacco. But even without it, they would not contribute to nourishment, since tobacco is not so used as to come within the influence of the digestive functions. There is first the volatile alkali which may be found by the infusion of tobacco leaves in water made slightly sour by sulphuric acid, and when the infusion is subsequently distilled with quicklime, there comes over mixed with water a small quantity of a volatile oily colourless alkaline liquid, which is heavier than water, and to which the name of *nicotina* has been given. "It has the odour of tobacco, an acrid burning long continuing tobacco taste, and possesses narcotic and very poisonous qualities. In this latter respect it is scarcely inferior to prussic acid, a single drop

being sufficient to kill a dog. Its vapour is so irritating that it is difficult to breathe in a room in which a single drop has been evaporated."* The most important use for which it is valued and which has led to its large consumption is the property it possesses of gratifying the appetite for narcotic indulgence in man. But its effects as regards that object can with difficulty be described. Even the hardiest consumer will be at a loss to define his sensations while under the influence of this narcotic. We all know that it possesses no perceptible intoxicating quality. The only thing that can be said of it is, that like many intoxicating drugs and beverages, when once you have begun the indulgence you cannot do without it. It cannot, however, be denied that it does afford a kind of relief to the fatigued body after toil and trouble. In habitual smokers, says Dr. Pereira, the practice, when moderately indulged in, provokes thirst, increases the secretion of saliva, and produces that remarkably soothing and tranquilising effect on the mind which has caused it to be so much admired and adopted by all classes of society and by all nations, civilized and barbarous.† We also know that it also forms a great aid to reflection. Poets and Essayists in our own country, when under the inspiration of the muses, find the pipe to be indispensable to the rapid and uninterrupted flow of their thoughts. To the chess-players the tobacco pipe is an inseparable adjunct. If the supply falls short they are undone. They find themselves then as if paralysed and quite incapable of moving the pieces. Tobacco, however, is said to possess one medicinal virtue, which, though not well known, is therefore not the less valuable. It is a great antidote to strychnia. A sufficient quantity of the juice of tobacco-leaf administered to the persons affected by the poison has been known to effect a cure. It is also used in some places as a sovereign application for wounds and bruises and the bites of poisonous serpents. None of these uses appear to be sufficiently known in this country.

I will now allude to the other drugs. Next to tobacco in the ascending scale are gunja and churus, both of Asiatic growth, and both are more or less consumed in the East. Unlike tobacco they are used for their intoxicating property alone. The first is the well known hemp, and the second is the resin of the same plant. There is but one form in which they can be used, which is, by burning, like tobacco, in a *chillum* and inhaling the smoke through a pipe. Gunja is very common in India, and grows in

* Johnston's Chemistry of Common Life, Vol. II, page 29.
† Pereira's Materia Medica.

abundance in the Upper Provinces. It is a favorite with the up-country people quite as much as tobacco is with a Bengallee. I do not intend to say that its use is confined to the higher provinces alone; it is also in demand in Lower Bengal, but here it is not so universally adopted as a stimulating drug.

Churus, as is well known, is an extract or resin spontaneously exuded by the plant. In describing how these drugs are obtained, we must speak of the plant and extract together. A plant from which the resin has been extracted is not fit to be used as gunja, then it wants the very property for which it is valued. To make gunja what it is, it must be dried with the resin, for it is the existence of this sticky juice which helps the flower of the plants on each twig to stick with the leaves on it and form itself into a pod. In India some art is resorted to to quicken the formation of these pods, and particular care is taken of the plant to prevent its vegetating into an exuberantly leafy plant. Some say that to quicken the formation of the gunja-pods they pour milk at the root of the plant and mix sugar with the earth too when it has begun to flower. I am not prepared to dispute this fact, but I attach no importance to the practice as regards the end intended to be gained by it.

The churus or juicy extract of hemp is collected from the hemp plant either by scraping with the hand as in Nepaul, or by men covered with leather aprons running backwards and forwards through the hemp fields and beating the plants violently. The resin thus detaches itself from the leaves, stems, and flowers, and adheres to the leather, from which it is scraped off and formed into balls. This mode is adopted in Central India, and churus thus formed is known as the churus of Cabul. In Persia the resin is detached by pressing the plant on coarse cloths, and afterwards scraping it off and melting it in a little warm water. The ordinary churus sold in the bazars is the churus of Cabul as gathered in Central India. The most valuable drug is that grown in Nepaul, and sold at double the price of the ordinary churus. The churus of Herat is said to be the most powerful variety of the drug, but it is scarcely known in this country. There is another form of obtaining the resinous extract, which is by boiling gunja in alcohol, which method is said to be most economical, as the extract obtained is in a pure state and therefore most efficient, while the expense of producing it is small. This method of obtaining the resin is not in use in India, and it is not known whether it is thus obtained in any other Asiatic country.

Very little is known of the properties of the chemical constituents of gunja and churus, except that when distilled with water the dried leaves and flowers yield a volatile oil in small quantity, and the resin dissolves readily in alcohol and ether, and is separated from these liquids in the form of a white powder when the solutions are mixed with water. The resin has a warm bitterish acid, somewhat balsamic taste, and a fragrant odour especially when heated.

A word now as to the effects of gunja and churus on the persons who indulge in them. Both gunja and churus, as is well known, are not smoked singly. They are both mixed with tobacco before burning them in the chillum or *kulka*; with gunja the leaf is used, with churus the prepared tobacco, which in the latter case is simply mixed in the proportion of nearly ⅔rds, the whole weighing about a tolah. A dose of gunja is also nearly of the same weight. A leaf or half a leaf is taken accordingly as a stick or half a stick of gunja is used, and both cut into chips on a piece of short thick wood and then pressed in the palm of the hand until the whole is nearly reduced to a powdered ball. The *kulka* used for smoking gunja is of a peculiar shape, quite unlike that for tobacco smoking, and the same thing may be said of the hookah. Its votaries, before beginning to smoke, always take the name of Mohadeb, with whom it is a favorite drug, and then sit in a ring and pass the hookah round, no body taking more than one or two long sustained puffs. It is a remarkable fact that in this country at least, the votaries of gunja, as a rule, always smoke the drug in company and never singly; a stranger falling in with them, though unaccustomed to the drug, is never allowed to be a passive spectator without joining the ring, which he is often pressed to do.

A gunja-smoker may often be made out by his appearance, which is always dry and ricketty—eyes sunken and cheeks flattened. Gunja fumes are believed to possess the property of drying up the humours of the body, and giving the persons who inhale them a faded look. A gunja-smoker can never be slim, and if the habit of excessive indulgence be long persevered in, it brings dysentery and diarrhœa. These evils are, in a great measure, counteracted by wholesome diet of milk and ghee, and confectionary having a large share of these oily ingredients. None of these effects are perceived in churus-smokers. I do not know whether the resin has any property of mitigating the evils produced by gunja; but I believe the indulgence in this drug seldom or never grows into a passion.

Much has been said of the peculiar sensations produced while under the influence of gunja. I have never been able to elicit any satisfactory information as to what those sensations are even from those long inured to the use. The intoxication produced by churus-smoking is much tamer than that of gunja. It scarcely brings on any hallucination such as is caused by intoxication generally. Persons under its influence scarcely betray any incoherence in manner or speech, neither is the habit productive of any perceptible evil in the constitution. But gunja is more powerful in its effects, and it leaves a more lasting impression on the system. One peculiarity of gunja-smoking is that it makes the person, with whom the indulgence has become a habit, choleric and irascible, rough in manner and rough in speech.

I know of no useful purpose to which gunja is employed except its seeds, which are sometimes boiled with oil for external application for cure of cutaneous diseases. Of the resins, however, there are many important medicinal uses. If taken in moderation, it is said to produce increase of appetite and great mental cheerfulness, and excess causes a peculiar kind of delirium and catalepsy.* Though it is a well known fact that habits of intoxication when persevered in have a great tendency to affect the nerves, the truth is most strikingly illustrated in cases of intoxication produced by gunja-smoking. I have compiled a statement (Appendix C), which I annex, from the latest reports on lunatic asylums, of attacks of insanity induced by indulgence in drugs and liquors, from which it will be seen that gunja-smoking has a more powerful tendency in bringing on the attacks of this disease. More than 55 per cent. of these cases is the result of gunja-smoking.

Hemp is used in another form in Persia and Arabia, which there is known by the name of haschisch. Very glowing descriptions are given of the effects of the drug in this form. When taken in small doses its effect is simply to produce a moderate exhilaration of spirits, or at most a tendency to unreasonable laughter. Again, taken in doses sufficient to induce the *fantasia*, it produces an intense feeling of happiness which attends all the operations of the mind. "The sun shines upon every thought that passes through the brain, and every movement of the body is a source of enjoyment." The same writer concludes with the following descriptions given from his personal experience:—"It is real happiness which is produced by the haschisch; and by this

* Pereira's Materia Medica quoted by Johnston.

I mean an enjoyment entirely moral and by no means sensual as might be supposed. For the haschisch-eater is happy not like the gourmand or the famished man when satisfying his appetite, or the voluptuary in the gratification of his amative desires, but like him who hears tidings which fills him with joy, or like the miser counting his treasures; the gambler who is successful at play, or the ambitious man who is intoxicated with success."

There is another use of the hemp plant for the purpose of intoxication which remains to be noticed. When the plant is unusually leafy the leaves do not adhere to the flowers on the stems, so as to become clotted, but remain detached; these leaves are gathered and dried, and sold as *sidhee, subjee,* or *bhang.* As an intoxicating agency this drug is least in favor in Lower Bengal, but like gunja is a universal favorite amongst the up-country people and the Punjabees. With them it is more in demand than tobacco is in this country. It is used in two forms, one is in liquid state, and the other in shape of paste. In Bengal, in whatever of the two forms it is used, it is always spiced and sweetened.

Its intoxicating power is very mild if moderately indulged in, but when taken in excess, it quite upsets the man and produces sensation by no means agreeable; while under its influence the person feels as if he is resting on his head, and the most familiar objects seem as if they are inverted. Its after effects are to sharpen the appetite and induce an extraordinary voraciousness. It has also the effect of producing costiveness.

The name of sidhee will recall to the mind even of the most heterodox Bengallee many agreeable associations. It is considered a sacred beverage indispensable on the occasion of those social and family gatherings which take place on the last day of the dusserah festival, when a cup of the mixture is offered to friends and relatives as pledge of welcome and friendship.

Sidhee or bhang takes the name of majaun under a different form which resembles the haschisch and *dawames* of the Arabs and Syrians. It is a confection of powdered spices, milk and sugar, mixed with almost an equal portion of bhang formed into cakes, and the effect produced upon the system of the person under its influence differ very little from those of the other varieties of the drug—churus excepted, which may be always considered as the mildest form of the hemp. Whatever other people may say about the extatic effects while under its influence, the sensations may be described as being of an agreeable and cheerful character, exciting to laughter, dancing and singing, and to the commission

of various extravagancies. Hemp in one or other of the forms described is consumed, it is supposed, by at least 300 millions of the human race.

Of all the known intoxicating drugs which I have described and may describe hereafter, opium occupies an important place and deserves to have more than a passing notice. It is comparatively rare, more costly than most inebriating agencies; but this inconvenience is fully compensated by a very small quantity being sufficient for all purposes either of intoxication or medicinal use. It may be considered as the concentrated essence of the narcotic principle. In taste, though not so hot and acrid as the varieties of the hemp, it is indescribably bitter and nauseous. The following is a chemical analysis of the drug given by Mülder:—

Morphine	6·3
Narcotine	7·7
Codeine	0·7
Narceine	9·0
Meconine	0·6
Meconic acid	6·1
Fat	2·2
Caoutchouc	4·5
Resin	2·7
Gummy extractive	25·3
Gum	1·7
Mucilage	18·7
Water and loss	14·5
	100

Since the above analysis five other constituents have been discovered, which are, thebaine, opeanine, pseudo-morphine, porphyroxine and papaverine.* The analysis here presented is that of Turkish opium. It is the proportion of morphia existing in any variety of the drug which determines its value, and in this respect Indian opium is inferior to the Turkish, but in the markets where it is valued it has no competition.

It is no part of our purpose here to dwell at any length on the processes of manufacturing opium or sorting or packing it for the market. I will content myself with describing how it is used for intoxication and what are its effects.

As far as is known, its use is confined to three forms, solid pills, smoke or vapour, and the liquid form of laudanum.† The last is a

* Johnston's Chemistry of Common Life, Vol II, page 87.

† In the Punjab an infusion of the Virgin poppy-head called *post* is consumed for intoxication.

perfect stranger to our part of the country or any place in the Asiatic continent as far as it is known. We owe its introduction into this country to European physicians, and the use in this form is solely confined to medicinal purposes. It is in Europe only where laudanum is used as an intoxicating drink amongst those who have learned this mode of sensual indulgence. There is little to be said about the process of pilling, which is simple enough, being nearly little bullets of pure opium swallowed with a draught of water, the quantity ordinarily consumed at each dose being from two to five grains, two or three times a day, increased up to from 30 to 90 grains. There is much of skill and contrivance in the smoking process, which is worthy of notice.

Opium, when used for this purpose, is called chundoo and gooly. The first is the celebrated composition universally used in the Indo Chinese-territory, and in the places where any of the Malay race are known to reside. The chundoo of India is an imitation of the Chinese invention, but the credit of inventing gooly is wholly our own. It is a pure Bengallee invention, having, it is said, originated in Chandernagore, where it began first to be used. A description of the two contrivances may well repay perusal. First, of the chundoo. Chundoo is opium in its pure state, divested of such impurities as vegetable matter, resin, and oil with the extractive matter. The soft part of opium is scooped out of balls and thrown into an earthen dish; the operative always moistens and washes his hands in a vessel where the water is preserved. When the soft part is carefully abstracted the shells or husks are broken up and split, and thrown into the vessel containing the water. These husks are then boiled in large shallow iron pots just as long as is necessary to break down the husks and dissolve the opium. This boiled matter is strained through folds of China paper laid in a frame of basket work, and over the paper is placed a cloth. This strained fluid is mixed with the soft opium scooped out and boiled in another large iron vessel to the consistence of thickish treacle. The refuse from the straining of the boiled husks is again boiled in water filtered through paper, and the filtered fluid added to the mass first obtained. The dissolved opium, being reduced to the consistence of treacle, is seethed over a fire of charcoal of a strong and steady but not fierce temperature, during which time it is most carefully worked, then spread out, then worked up again and again by the workman so as to expel the water and at the same time avoid burning it. When it is brought to the proper consistence, it is divided into half a dozen lots, each of which is spread like a plaster on a

nearly flat iron pot to the depth of from half to three quarters of an inch, and then scored in all manner of directions to allow the heat to be applied equally to every part. One pot after another is then placed over the fire, turned rapidly round, then reversed, so as to expose the opium itself to the full heat of the red fire. This is repeated three times;—the length of time requisite and the proper heat are judged of by the workman from the effluvium and colour.* In the last operation the fired opium is dissolved in a large quantity of water and boiled in copper vessels till it is reduced to the consistence of chundoo used in the shops. The method adopted here is precisely the same, except, from the custom being limited, the same purity is not secured. In the chundoo shops of Calcutta the drug is smoked by the consumers in the shops themselves, where there are arrangements for such purpose. There are beds in the shops for the smokers, the quality of which varies according to the rate of fee, which ranges from 8 annas to 2 rupees,—a common mat being for the first, and a mattrass and pillow on a charpoy are provided for the last or the highest class. It is said that beds become absolutely necessary from the fact that the smokers, immediately after indulgence, fall either flat on their faces or on their backs, in either of which postures there is a corresponding result which I refrain from mentioning. The votaries of chundoo, after inhaling the smoke to their fill, remain in a trance for hours together, after which they are roused, and the beds and their occupants then both require to be thoroughly washed and cleansed for the sake of decency. These shops are kept by Chinamen, and principally resorted to by the Chinese and Mahomedans and scarcely by any Bengallee. Gooly has none of these effects, neither is so much preparation required for its indulgence. Judging from its price, it must be a mixed drug composed of all sorts of impurities which are melted and made into pills. One important ingredient which give these pills their peculiar character and effect are chips of guava or betel leaves and sometimes of rose petals which are fried in a dry pan. For this purpose every shop is furnished with one or two portable forges and bellows. These chips when fried are called *jassoo*. The hooka of the smoker and its pipe in the peculiar phraseology of the votaries are called *tore* and *jore* respectively. The kulka in which the pills are dressed for burning, called *maroo*, is the stump of what is used for tobacco smoking, being merely the tubular part without the surmounting cup.

* Cooke's Popular History of the seven narcotics.

The fire for burning is made by igniting short sticks of the same materials with which tieca and hooka gools are made. These sticks are called *batty.* The tongs with which these sticks are ignited are called *futky lutky,* and the chums who meet together in the shops for the purpose of smoking address each other by the name of *iarro* or friend. I have omitted one fact in connection with the arrangements for gooly smoking. It is indispensable that the smoker, immediately after the indulgences, should have some edible by his side to improve his taste. For this purpose he always provides himself with a cup of sherbet or some bits of sugarcane or fruits. There are many with whom even this simple arrangement is an inconvenience. For them small bits of common cork are soaked in sherbet and they suck one or two of these corks at a time. One or two pice often suffice to purchase as much gooly as is necessary for one indulgence.

Not having had any opportunities of coming in contact with a habitual *chundoo* smoker, I can give no idea of its effects on those who indulge in it. But a gooly-smoker, as we daily see him, is an ugly beast, whatever his rank of life may be; for it must be borne in mind that the shops are resorted to as much by men better born and better bred as by those of the lowest grades of society. A gooly-smoker has a lean haggard appearance, with sunken eyes blackened all round, and a protuberant belly, while the bones of the whole frame seem staring you in the face. Generally, an opium-smoker may be distinguished by his black eyes, blackened lips, and a thick voice.

It is said that opium imparts energy to the man, makes him active and conversable. I cannot do better than quote some intelligent Europeans who have left on record their unbiassed opinions on the effects of this drug. Some of these, it may be remarked, were no lovers of the drug. Dr. Christison, the most impartial writer on this subject, and who always condemns this and other similar drugs, says that its common effect is to remove torpor and sluggishness and to make the opium-consumer in the eyes of his friends an active and conversable man. Another writer, who speaks from personal experience, comparing opium with wine, thus concludes his observations: "Wine robs a man of his self-possession, opium greatly invigorates it; wine unsettles and clouds the judgment and gives a preternatural brightness and a vivid exaltation to the contempts and admirations, the loves and hatred of the drinkers: opium, on the contrary, communicates serenity and equipoise to all the faculties, active or passive;

and with respect to the temper and moral feelings in general, it gives simply that sort of vital warmth which is approved by the judgment and which would probably always accompany a bodily constitution of primeval or antediluvian health. To sum up all in one word, a man who is inebriated or tending to inebriation is and feels that he is in a condition which calls up into supremacy the merely human—too often the brutal—part of his nature; but the opium-eater feels that the diviner part of nature is paramount, that is, the moral affections are in a state of cloudless serenity, and over all is the great majestic light of the intellect." Dr. Eatwell—who was many years in this country, and who had an extensive knowledge of the history and action of opium, has thus recorded his opinion: "The question to be determined is not what are the effects of opium used in excess, but what are its effects on the moral and physical constitution of the mass of individuals who use it habitually and in moderation, either as a stimulant to maintain the frame under fatigue, or a restorative and sedative after labor, bodily or mental. Having passed three years in China, I can affirm thus far that the effects of the abuse of the drug do not very frequently come under observation, and that when cases do occur, the habit is frequently found to have been induced by the presence of painful chronic disease, to escape from the sufferings of which the patient has fled to this resource. That this is not always the case, however, I am perfectly ready to admit; and there are doubtless many who indulge in the habit to a pernicious extent, led by the same morbid influences which induce men to become drunkards in even the most civilized countries, but these do not at all events come before the public eye. As regards the effects of the habitual use of the drug on the mass of the people, I must affirm that no injurious results are visible. The people generally are a muscular and well framed race, the laboring portion being capable of great and prolonged exertion under a fierce sun in an unhealthy climate. Their disposition is cheerful and peaceable, and quarrels and brawls are rarely heard of even amongst the lower orders, whilst in general intelligence they rank deservedly high amongst orientals. I conclude, therefore, with observing that the proofs are still wanting to show that the moderate use of opium produces more pernicious effects upon the constitution than the moderate use of spirituous liquors, whilst at the same time it is certain that the consequences of the abuse of the former are less appalling in their effects upon their victims and less disastrous to society at large than the consequences of the

abuse of the latter. All seem to agree in maintaining that when taken in moderate doses, the result of the action of opium on the nerves are, that the mind is exhilarated, the ideas flow more quickly, and a pleasurable or comfortable condition of the whole system is experienced which it is difficult to describe." Again, opium is said to possess "a wonderful power of sustaining the strength which is not found in alcoholic drinks, and of enabling men to undergo fatigue and continued exertion under which they would otherwise inevitably sink."*

In the literary ranks of England there were two men who were for a considerable portion of their lives slaves to opium. I allude to Samuel Taylor Coleridge and De Quincey, both of whom have left remarkable memorials of their impressions of the effects of opium. The second was an ardent admirer of the drug as long as he was in the habit of using it, as his *Confessions* will bear testimony. He has thus described the effect of laudanum when he took it for the first time: "But I took it, and in an hour, oh heavens! what a revolution, what an upheaving from its lowest depths of the inner spirit; what an apocalypse of the world within me! That my pains had vanished was a trifle in my eyes. This negative effect was swallowed up in the immensity of those positive effects which had opened before me in the abyss of divine enjoyment thus suddenly revealed. Here was a panacea for all human woes; here was the secret of happiness about which philosophers had disputed for so many ages at once discovered. Happiness might now be bought for a penny and carried in the waistcoat pocket; portable ecstasies might be had corked up in a pint bottle, and peace of mind could be sent down in gallons by the mail coach." Both De Quincey and Coleridge had recourse to opium to dispel bodily pain. De Quincey felt himself in raptures; Coleridge was in gloom and despondence while under the influence of the habit. The latter has thus painted his misery: "Conceive a poor miserable wretch who for many years has been attempting to beat off pain by a constant recurrence to a vice that reproduces it; conceive a spirit in hell employed in tracing out for others the road to that heaven from which his crimes exclude him; in short, conceive whatever is most wretched, helpless and hopeless, and you will form as tolerable a notion of my condition as it is possible for a good man to have."

Whatever might be said in praise by the admirer of the drug, whatever effect it may have on the Chinese and others of the Malayan

* Pereira's Materia Medica quoted by Johnston.

race, our experience in this part of the world does not give any favorable impression of its salutary effects. We leave entirely out of view the cases of men who have recourse to it to mitigate physical suffering, but those who indulge in it for the sake of pleasure and excitement often present miserable wrecks of humanity. There is much of truth and practical knowledge in the following picture of an opium-eater: "A total attenuation of body, a withered yellow countenance, a lame gait, a bending of the spine frequently to such a degree as to assume a circular form, and glossy deep sunken eyes betray the opium-eater at the first glance. The digestive organs are in the highest degree disturbed; the sufferer eats scarcely anything and has hardly one evacuation in a week. His mental and bodily powers are destroyed, he is impotent." It is for the property of constipating the bowels that opium is largely resorted to in this country in cases of chronic bowel complaints. I know of other diseases too in which it is used to mitigate suffering; as for the energy and liveliness which it is said to impart to the consumer, cases are neither so numerous nor frequent as to associate the drug with these virtues. I know only of one exceptional case in which these virtues remarkably exhibited themselves. There was a clerk, in a flourishing mercantile firm of this city, now extinct, who was a hardy opium-eater, and this was known to his employers. He was often made to taste opium, for his opinion on the quality of the drug was found to be correct, and as an indulgence the man had a daily allowance, which he took during office hours. As long as he had it not he was found to be sluggish and drowsy, perpetually yawning over his work; almost immediately after swallowing his usual modicum, he would be found a changed man altogether. He would resume his seat and work immediately from 12 to nearly an hour after candle-light, and then he did the work of nearly four men. He was as quick as he was accurate.

It is a common mistake that opium induces sleep. It brings on a state of half-waking and half-dreaming drowsiness; an opium-eater scarcely knows what is sound sleep. That state of listless insensibility which opium produces should not be confounded with sleep. I know of an opium-eater who, on one occasion, while dozing in a couch at candle-light, called for the servant to replenish his *chillum* with tobacco; for this purpose he held out his hand. The chillum was replenished, but the outstretched hand with the hooka in the grasp remained stiff and motionless; the man dozed away, the night wore out. It was nearly an hour after day-light he seemed to rouse himself; he reiterated the order

for tobacco, not being conscious that the order of the evening had been obeyed, and that since a whole night has passed away.

It is a remarkable and a peculiar characteristic of the opium-eaters of this country that they are inordinately fond of tobacco. You cannot give them tobacco too often. We can note the minutes of their respite from tobacco, but shall be perplexed to give an account of their consumption. Except that it is an aid to the effects of opium, we cannot account by any other way for this inscrutable relationship. We know not of any similar longing amongst the class in any other country.*

The habit of indulging in opium, when once ripened, cannot be shaken off. It has such a hold of its victim that it makes a slave of him. It is not every man who can be a De Quincey and Coleridge; the way in which they achieved their emancipation only proves how difficult it is for ordinary men to break the fetters. The following extract from the confessions of a living opium-smoker will be read with interest—"If the usual time of smoking should be put off through any excuse or difficulty, terrible spasms of the muscular system come on, so much so, that I was once lying on a couch which was shorter than my length of body, and something had delayed my morning smoke, when a spasm came on and very nearly dislocated my jaw; another caused my feet to stretch out full against the side of the couch which was broken by the stretch."

Laying aside the question of wholly shaking off the habit, the opium-eater feels as if he is under the pangs of death if deprived of the supply at the appointed hour of indulgence. Opium, it is supposed, is consumed by nearly four hundred billions of the human race.

I have enumerated the most important and extensively used intoxicating drugs; the few that remain are of little note, and may be simply indicated by their names for the curious. The first in this list is tarry or toddy; it is the juice of the fan palm (borassus) obtained like date juice by tapping the neck of the tree where the palms hang; when drunk fresh from the tree at day-break or candle-light it is quite inoccuous. If taken in excess, it, in some measure, produces intoxication. Even in this state it can never do harm.

---

* Milk, it is well known, is considered as an indispensable adjunct to an opium-eater's diet. He sustains himself only by frequent potations of this beverage; and his health and vigor will be in proportion to the consumption.

It is a cool and refreshing drink, often recommended for its diuretic properties to those laboring under urinary diseases. Its effects are somewhat violent when fermented by solar heat. Then it froths and foams, being sour and turbid. In weak stomachs it causes flatulency and purging.

The following is a chemical analysis I made of tarry (toddy) ten hours after its being taken down from the tree, and kept exposed to the sun, from which it will be seen that its constituents very much resemble those of beer.

Percentage of constituents in toddy.

Absolute alcohol by volume	3·63
Total acidity	·40
Volatile acid	·18
Fixed acid	·22
Solid residue at 230° F.	2·76
Ash chiefly consists of alkaline chlorides and phosphates and traces of carbonates and sulphates	·17
Specific gravity at 60° F.	1007·

Adopting mean numbers, about 21 ounces of toddy will contain—

Alcohol	363 grains.
Extractives	276 „
Free acid	40 „
Salts	17 „

We have next khatta. This drug is a composition of sidhee, lemon-juice, salt and spices. It is not in common use, being prepared for special use according to the taste of the consumer. Dhotoora or thorn apple, though a strong stimulant, is seldom used for intoxication in the lower country; it is more dreaded for its poisonous than for its inebriating power. Its use in India is confined to the hilly regions of the Himalaya, but it is very extensively used by the savage tribes of America.

Drugs similar to those I have described obtain in some of the European and Northern Asiatic countries. I have no room for any lengthened description of them. I can but barely enumerate some of them. They are the Siberian fungus, foxglove, henbane, belladona, cocculus indicus, and nightshade.

I have, in the preceding pages, confined my attention to drugs which are more or less intoxicating, and which are, for the most part, used in such a manner as least to contribute to the growth and nutrition of the physical system. There is little in the substances themselves which can serve either of the two purposes, and the manner of using them is opposed to the utilization

of the vital elements contained in them. I will now dwell on the intoxicating beverages embracing all spirits and wines. These, unlike the drugs before treated of, are composed of ingredients each of which demands special attention, and the effects produced by them, both by the manner of using them and their chemical constituents, present many curious and interesting facts.

It has now become a fashion to condemn wholesale the use of these beverages in any form; but I will run the risk of incurring some odium in steering clear of these partisan opinions, and present an impartial view of both sides of the question. I must however, admit, before proceeding further, that there cannot be any dissentient opinion as to the evils of the abuse of a beverage which otherwise is calculated to contribute to the happiness of mankind. I know of no other cause which has done more to heap upon society misery, distress, and incalculable physical suffering as intemperance, and yet, when used with moderation, wine has been known to be a fruitful source of the most innocent, social, and domestic pleasures. It is also a great help to the medical practitioner in sustaining the sinking pulse as much as in restoring vigour to the fainting sick and worn-out convalescent; while to the care-worn jaded man of business, its efficacy as a restorative and sedative cannot be denied.

If all those who have spoken their views on the use and abuse of alcoholic and fermented drinks had spoken as sensibly and temperately as in the extract from an address which I give below, they would have succeeded more in obtaining a respectful hearing and making a corresponding impression on those for whose benefit their instructions were intended than those rhapsodists who indulge in meaningless rant and bring ridicule upon themselves. The address I have alluded to is that of Dr. Lankester, delivered before the Congress of the British Social Science Association of 1864, and its conclusion runs as follows:—

"The extent to which substances may be taken with impunity that address the nervous system is a question that is occupying the attention of some of our most distinguished physiologists, and whilst at the present time science cannot be said to have pronounced on the question, there is no doubt of the fact that one of the most terrible scourges of the human race is the tendency to indulge to excess in drinking alcoholic beverages. The vices of tobacco smoking, chewing and snuffing, with opium and hemp eating, exert but little evil as compared with the

terrible vice of drunkenness. There are many here who will feel that the interdiction of these beverages is not the sound conclusion of social science. But all must acknowledge in a scientific point of view the value of the large body of facts which have been presented to us by total abstainers from alcohol, who have thus demonstrated that the consumption of these fermented liquors is not necessary for the maintenance of health or strength." With this may be contrasted the remarks of another writer with no more experience of the subject than what a general and intelligent thinker may be expected to have. "The most recent enquiries," says he, "into the action of alcohol upon the human body confirm the teachings of experience and observation which may be summed up in one brief sentence. That *vis naturæ* derives no real aid from the *vis vini spiritus;* that all the miserable effects of alcohol tend to diminish vital energy and to shorten life; and that no one has anything to fear, but something to hope for in reference to health and longevity, by dissolving all fellowship between himself and the bottle."* We stand least in want of such monitors to warn us of the effects of alcoholic indulgences. What is wanted is a scientific research into the effects of the drink, and the limits of its indulgence. That when long and habitually indulged in it lessens appetite, causes enlargement of the liver; its action in cases of immoderate indulgence is also to alter the molecular constitution of the lungs by inducing chronic bronchitis and lobular emphysema; it also in most cases is the cause of that terrible malady which we are familiar with under the name of *delirium tremens*, and also of that which the profession designate by the name of chronic alcoholic intoxication, the common effects of which are loss of appetite, impaired digestion, and inability to sleep, giddiness, and headache, and mental hallucinations approaching to unsoundness of the intellect; premature old age, or the appearance of it is also one of the common effects of habitual indulgence. But all these, it must be borne in mind, are the effects of habitual vicious indulgence.

Wine, beer, and spirits, and any drink which contain more or less of alcohol impartially considered may be taken as a food, a medicine, a luxury, and a poison. But every one of these views of the beverages must be supposed to be variously modified according to the difference of age, sex, climate, and constitution and occupation. As an article of food, though not susceptible of digestion in the same way as other alimentary substances, it serves the

* Transactions of the British Social Science Association for 1864.

purpose which many varieties of food known as heat-giving are intended to do, and therefore those addicted to moderate doses of alcohol in any one of the various forms in use, do not require much sugar, starch, and fat in the food which they consume. But this use of the beverage loses much of its urgency in climates where the want of heat-giving food is not felt. But there is another view of the question which deserves consideration. Alcohol, whether existing in beer or wines, is not, as I have said before, digested, and therefore transformed into an essential constituent of the blood. Hence it does not supply waste and effect restitution, which are the chief uses of food, but still it passes into the blood. It thereby *prevents* waste and indirectly serves the purposes of food by economising little food that may be taken. "By the oxygen we inhale, it is burnt in the blood into oxalic acid and water, and finally into water and carbonic acid. But the oxygen which decomposes the alcohol, is withdrawn from the albuminous and fatty substances of the blood. Alcohol from its greater combustibility protects these constituents of the blood from being burnt, and if in addition to this, both special experiment and ordinary experience prove that alcoholic beverages diminish the quantity of carbonic acid we inhale, apparently from a great part of the inhaled oxygen combining with the hydrogen of the alcohol into water, there is a two-fold argument for believing that alcohol moderates the combustion of the constituent of the blood, and therefore diminishes the first cause of the need of restitution."* It thus compensates for the scanty food of the poor, who with a frugal and may be insufficient meal are enabled to retain as much in the blood and tissues as an abstainer who has his full diet.

The instinct which drives a working man to have recourse to spirits is not, unless under exceptional circumstances, the result of a morbid craving after vicious indulgence as the impulse of an inexorable law which leads him to supply that which he has not the means to procure. "He must work, but in consequence of insufficient food, a certain portion of his working power is daily wanting. Spirits by their action on the nerves enable him to make up the deficient power."† We thus account for the fact why almost all the lowest orders of our working classes in this country who live by the meanest occupations and earn generally a scanty living are reckless and habitual drunkards. I have called wine, beer, and spirits as indirect and negative food from the absence

* Dr. Scoffern on the Chemistry of Food.
† Leibeg.

of proper nutritive elements in their composition, but beer, however, does not properly fall under this category. There are some constituents in beer which possess properties of some of the best elements of nutritious food; in a measure of 20 ounces of beer there are in mean numbers—

Alcohol	1	ounce.
Extractive, dextrine sugar	1·2	„
Salts	13	grains.
Free acids	·25	„

Thus the important ingredients in beer are four, *viz.*, the extractive matter and sugar, the bitter matters, the free acids and the alcohol. The first play the same part in the system as starch and sugar, appropriating the oxygen and saving fat and albuminates from destruction.* Hence when large potation of this beverage is indulged in without corresponding exercise it induces a plethoric state of the body.

I have alluded to the beverages under notice being considered as medicines. They are as much so to the healthy as to the infirm and aged. Generally they are great restoratives in recruiting the wearied and enfeebled powers of the mind and body when both have been exhausted by fatigue. But they have also their special medicinal virtues. To the convalescent after lingering diseases, mild doses of beer have been found to be valuable restoratives. Brandy may be resorted to as a domestic remedy to relieve spasmodic pains of flatulency, to check vomiting, and to give temporary relief in some cases of indigestion, attended with pain after taking food. Even rum is preferred as a sedative in cases of slight colds, long standing coughs, and rheumatism.† Wines and alcoholic drinks act most beneficently in the aged and infirm in arresting too rapid changes of the tissues, and giving them increased vigor and strength. They are also prescribed in those diseases which are attended with depression of the feelings and diminished activity of the mental powers.

When I now speak of the use of intoxicating beverages as a luxury, I must guard against misapprehension as not implying sensuous pleasure and gratification. For such a purpose the indulgence must verge into dissipation. I mean that they may be used as ministers of refined domestic enjoyments and convivial pleasures. I cannot imagine any invention of art which adds

* Parkes' Practical Hygiene.
† Pereira on Food and Diet.

so much to the zest of social gatherings and refined enjoyment of friendly company as these beverages. Moreover, it is not desirable for a protracted healthy action of the intellectual faculties that the mind should during its waking hours be perpetually strung up to a pitch of thoughtful and care-ridden mood. It must have its moments of relaxation and ease when care disappears and ideas flow more easily and pleasantly.

To conclude, "wines," as has been remarked, "when used in moderate quantities, as to the extent of two or three glasses daily, prove a very grateful, and, to those who have been accustomed to it, an almost indispensable stimulant. They quicken the action of the heart and blood vessels, diffuse an agreeable warmth through the system, promote the different secretions, augment the muscular force and activity, excite the mental powers, and banish unpleasant ideas and reflections."* The notion that daily use of wines in moderate doses shortens life is imaginary, for proofs have not yet been collected to give to the conclusion the cogency of fact.

I have said that spirits and wines may be viewed in the light of poison, so they may, and the most baneful of all poisons when abused. I need not dwell here on the common-place facts relating to the evils which have afflicted society from over-indulgence in spirituous beverages. "Otherwise they are no more poisons than the common salt and the oxalic acid of our food. In common with many medicines they are poisons taken in over-doses; they kill as quickly as strychnia or arsenic; they may act as slow poisons by oft-repeated doses, but this is no argument against their use."†

Wines and spirituous drinks, therefore, unless abused, are not such unmitigated evils as they have been often represented by mere declaimers, and to use the words of an eminent chemist:— "I believe alcoholic drinks taken within limits of temperance to be a good and rational means of developing the mental and bodily powers of man. I cannot join in the gratulations of those who now so enthusiastically enjoy the blessings of total abstinence. I have seen something of the operation of this enthusiasm not only in England, but in Ireland, more especially in the native city of the originator of the movement; and even taking the low ground of argument that a pledged abstainer *is* a drunkard saved, I find it impossible to accede to that proposition in all its universality. According to my experience a

* Pereira on Food and Diet.
† Dr. Lankester on Food.

pledged abstainer is too frequently a man who drinks in secret, thus adding hypocrisy to the other sin."* And to this I have to add that the truth is universal, that what holds good in Europe, holds as well or more in India.

But to be fair to all parties, as well as persistent in my resolution of impartial dealing, I must reproduce two important documents in favor of total abstinence; one signed by men of the highest celebrity in the Department of Medicine and Chemistry, such as Sir Benjamin Brodie, Dr. W. F. Chalmers, Sir J. Clark, Mr. Bransby Cooper, Mr. Benjamin Travers, Dr. Marshall Hall, Dr. Herbert Myo, Dr. Hope, Sir James Eyre, Dr. Roupell, Dr. A. Thomson, and Sir Alexander Ure, which runs as follows:—

"An opinion handed down from rude and ignorant times, and imbibed by Englishmen from their youth, has become very general that habitual use of some portion of alcoholic drinks, as of wine, beer, or spirits, is beneficial to health and even necessary to those subjected to habitual labor. Anatomy, physiology, and the experience of ages and countries, when properly examined, must satisfy every mind well informed in medical science that the above opinion is altogether erroneous."

The second certificate, circulated under the auspices of Sir John Forbes, Dr. W. B. Carpenter, and Dr. W. A. Gay, and signed by a large proportion of the most eminent members of the faculty in Great Britain and Ireland, declared:—

"That a very large proportion of human misery, including poverty, disease, and crime, is induced by the use of alcoholic and fermented liquors as beverages; that the most perfect health is compatible with total abstinence from them, and that total abstinence would greatly contribute to the health, prosperity, morality, and happiness of the human race.†"

I will now add a few facts relative to the adulterations of wines and spirits. These adulterations make them, even when most sparingly used, most noxious poisons. Spirits in general do not admit of so much tampering as wine and beer. But there is a way by which they may be made to act most injuriously on the system. When spirits are the products of vinous fermentation they combine more readily with the other ingredients of

---

* Dr. Scoffern on the Chemistry of Food.

† Revd. Dawson Burns' Paper on Vital Statistics in relation to the use of intoxicating Liquors, read before the British Social Science Association.

liquors, and therefore prove less injurious. It is the existence of uncombined spirits mixed up with fermented liquors in bottles or casks to add to their strength, or to make up for deficient quality, which quickly inebriates, and induces in time, if long indulged in, complicated derangements in the chest, liver and lungs. This adulteration may often be detected by an ordinary drinker by taste and smell. The most common adulteration of brandy is rum. We may make one important use of the fact that spirits mixed with the alcohol of vinous fermentation do not readily combine in the use we make of brandy. Those who drink this liquor for health should remember that immediate dilution at the moment of consumption will not weaken it. Even water will not easily combine with spirit unless the mixture be made sufficiently long before potation, and the minimum time supposed to be necessary for combination is twelve hours.*

In justice to the trade of this city, I must add that they have never been known to adulterate brandy or other spirits. All adulterations on this head originate with the exporters. If they ever tamper with them it is by mixtures which do no more harm than withhold from the buyers their money's worth of alcohol. I had occasion once to test the quality of about a dozen variety of brandies, in all which the adulteration I found was water. To the lovers of cheap brandy I would warn that, if expensive liquors be inconvenient, they should for their personal safety confine themselves to the use of rum or some country arrack. Brandy at Rs. 10 a dozen is a composition of some of the most insidious poisons. The ingredients which usually enter into the composition of this so-called brandy, are wood-naptha mixed with spirit of wine, disguised with sugar, ginger and fenugreek. The adulteration of beer, like that of brandy, when it is made, also takes place in the brewery, for the simple reason that it repels foreign mixtures when finished and stored in casks and bottles. The most common ingredients employed for this purpose are first, *cocculus indicus*, a poisonous fruit which imparts strength and inebriating quality to the mixture; quassia, to do the service of hops and communicate a bitter taste; grains of paradise and cayenne pepper to give pungency; coriander, caraway, and similar other spices to give flavor; liquorice, treacle and honey to give color and consistence.† But it is the wines which admit of large foreign admixtures with which great liber-

* Pereira on Food and Diet.
† Edinburgh Review, No. 257.

ties are taken. Port, sherry, and champagne even in England do not always mean what their names often import. The most astounding fact in these adulterations is, that they are sometimes not mixtures, but quite new fabrications without a drop of grape juice in them, and these fabrications take place as much in England as in the places of their growth. The common ingredient of adulteration in port and sherry, which is mixed in the countries where they are grown before exportation to England, is spirit, and this is done to suit it to the English taste for a strong sweet wine. The spirit used for this purpose is not always the product of any vinous fermentation, but corn and potato-spirit, and sometimes beet-root spirit. There are other ingredients also which enter into the composition, such as treacle and elder berries. The following anecdote relative to the manufacture of port wine will tell its own tale :—

"A friend of mine, says the writer, who was staying in Reading, where the militia were exercising, had occasion to go into a back yard of one of the hotels, where he saw an old crone stirring a black mixture in a huge caldron, which looked like a compound of blacking blackberries and sloes plucked from the neighbouring hedges. What are you brewing there, my good woman ? said my friend. The old witch, stirring up the compound with a thick stick, replied, naively enough, port wine for the Berkshire Militia."

Similar adulterations take place in sherries, of which the following are some illustrations. First, for cold brown sherry, 20 or 30 gallons of unfermented juice are put into an earthen vessel and heated until not more than a fifth part remains, when it looks and tastes like treacle; this is turned into a cask, containing more must which causes it to ferment, and the result is a very full luscious wine. But this is an innocent draught compared with what follow, of which three receipts are given below.

1*st.*—Forty-five gallons of cider, 6 of brandy, 8 of port wine, 2 gallons of sloe pressed in, 10 gallons of the liquor pressed off. If the color is not good, tincture of red sanders or cud bear is directed to be added. This bottled is sold as port.

2*nd.*—Spanish wine 1,529 gallons, of Fayal wine 544 gallons, of French wine 4,472 gallons, of Cape wines 689 gallons, of Portugal wine only 117 gallons, with 154 gallons of brandy, the result obtained being 7,525 gallons, minus 8 gallons loss, and the grand

result is 7,533 gallons of port wine thus manufactured; and all this, it is added, was for exportation.

If this were all there would have been some consolation; but we are treated with the refuse of what other people have disgorged and that at our expense. "All the refuse wine, red or white, old samples, heeltups of bottles, half tasted glasses, are thrown down and passed away into the collecting barrel, just as the cook throws any kind of meat and soup liquor into his stock pot, and with the addition of a little spirit and coloring matter it comes out very good eighteen shilling port.* Our Radha Bazar dealers, treading in the footsteps of their big prototypes in Europe, have learnt a bit of the art, and can turn out sherry of their own making. Here is their receipt—

Juice of pine-apple peel, fatty matter of rotten plantain of the *champa* species, treacle, rum and coloring matter. They will sell this at any price from Rs. 5 to 18 a dozen according to the experience of the buyer, but they will never refuse custom.†

It is my firm conviction that intoxication has a remarkable tendency to add to the number of our criminal population. Many of the most hideous crimes which the perpetrators would have never dreamed of in their sober moments are committed under the influence of liquor. This is capable of satisfactory demonstration, but I regret that the plan in which criminal statistics are now furnished does not admit of this information being given.

To give some idea of the progress of intemperance I annex two tabular statements showing the number of shops in existence for the sale of drugs and liquors in Calcutta and its suburbs, as also of the amount of excise revenue realized from this source in the Lower Provinces.

---

* See *Edinburgh Review*, No 257, for July 1867—Article—"Wine, and the Wine Trade."

† Here is another general receipt for making sherry, port, and ginger wines. They are all mixtures of hen eggs, sugar, and ginger with rum, together with coloring matter made from burnt sugar and sapan wood according to demand. These sell at 12 annas and 1 rupee a bottle. Some liquors are also similarly manufactured. Anis is a mixture of aniseed, jack fruits and plaintains with rum make khatulia. Vendors also use gunja, sidhee, chilly, and bakoor pills which contain datura to strengthen the drinks.

A.

Statement showing the Excise Revenue of the Lower Provinces in the year 1865-66.

		Rs.
Revenue from license fees on account of imported wines and spirituous and fermented liquors ...		58,751
„	tarry	5,68,705
„	puchwai	1,27,576
„	churrus	5,492
„	sidhee, subjee and bhang	6,834
„	Majun	2,650
„	Muddut	72,813
„	Chundoo	8,881
„	Gunja...	7,65,626
„	Abkarry opium	19,15,951
„	Rum or spirits manufactured in India in the English method	6,22,257
„	Country spirits...	14,43,903
	TOTAL ...	49,39,439

NOTE.—Imported wines, it should be remembered, pay a separate import duty not included in this Table.

B.

Statement showing the number of Shops in Calcutta and its Suburbs for the sale of Liquors and intoxicating Drugs.

	Calcutta.	Suburbs.
Shop for retail sale of rum and imported liquors...	99	88
For imported wines only	23	8
„ gunja	14	29
„ Opium	32	29
„ Chundoo	14	2
„ Churus	13	11
„ Sidhee	2	8
„ Muddut	26	14
„ Toddy	6	61
„ Majun	4	2
Hotels	27	7
Punch-houses	4	0

C.

Statement showing cases of insanity produced by habits of intemperance.

YEAR.	Rullunda.*				Moxdapore.				Dacca.				Cuttack.*				Patna.*				Remarks.
	Admitted.	Ganja.	Opium.	Liquor.	Admitted.	Ganja.	Opium.	Liquor.	Admitted.	Ganja.	Opium.	Liquor.	Admitted.	Ganja.	Opium.	Liquor.	Admitted.	Ganja.	Opium.	Liquor.	
1863	229	46	1	3	62	27	0	0	322	164	8	4	0	0	0	0	157	58	6	23	The number shown in the admitted column of 1863 was the number remaining in hospital in that year, which was the first of report.
1864	127	47	0	2	32	3	0	0	121	53	0	2	30	12	0	0	70	32	1	19	
1865	177	66	1	1	41	12	0	0	114	61	5	2	30	12	2	0	76	27	0	17	
1866	166	95	1	2	34	12	0	0	68	5	0	2	25	9	1	0	59	34	3	6	* There was one case of dhootura intoxication.
1867	180	47	2	17	0	0	0	0	67	22	1	6	21	7	1	0	75	26	0	19	

ECONOMY AND TRADE.

5.—*Statistics of Agriculture in Bengal.* *By* H. Beverley, M. A.

[Read on the 31st March 1868.]

The want of trustworthy agricultural statistics has long been felt to be a crying evil in Lower Bengal; and the subject was therefore very properly one of the first to engage the attention of this Association. In October last, the Council prepared and circulated a series of questions bearing upon the state of agriculture in this country and the condition of the agricultural classes. Replies have been received from thirty different quarters, and in the following paper an endeavour has been made to exhibit, in as clear a light as possible, the general results which may be deduced from them. To prevent misconception, however, it should perhaps first be explained that, although very valuable information may doubtless be collected and made public by such an Association as this, it is not to be expected that any *complete* returns can result from a purely voluntary agency. The Association has, of course, no means of *compelling* information; it can only ask assistance from its members and friends, and can only receive just so much as they choose to afford it. The difficulty of collecting information in this country, even in official walks of life, is proverbial. It may well be illustrated by the case of the Collector of a certain district in Bengal, who at the time of the late famine addressed two hundred and fifty of the most influential zemindars and others in the district, requesting them in the most courteous terms to visit him and discuss the prospects of the season. He received no more than thirteen replies, and not a single individual ever came to see him. It is satisfactory, therefore, to observe that the Association has received as many as thirty papers in answer to its enquiries regarding the agriculture of Bengal. It is quite possible that more replies may yet be received (and the Association will be very glad to receive them), but it is only fair to those gentlemen who have so promptly complied with the Society's request that an abstract of their labours should be laid before the Association without further delay.

Nature and Extent of the Crops.

The first subject on which information was requested related to agricultural statistics properly so called, the number and rotation of crops, the proportion of land occupied by different descrip-

tions of produce, and the means of renewing the productive powers of the soil, whether by a system of fallows or otherwise. The replies on this head, which have been received, are somewhat conflicting, and they are not so complete as to render any minute analysis of them of any value or importance. It may be stated, generally, as indeed is probably well known already, that the great staple produce of the country is *rice*, the cultivation of which occupies at least three-fourths of the culturable area of Bengal Proper, one-half of that in Behar, and nearly the whole of Orissa. In Bengal there are two crops of rice; the *Aus*, which is sown in June and reaped in September, and the *Aman*, sown also in June, transplanated in August, and reaped in December. The proportion of the *Aus* to the *Aman* varies in different districts, depending upon the level of the soil relative to the water supply. In Nuddea and Jessore this proportion would appear to be as nearly as possible 2 to 1.

The *Aus* lands are invariably sown afterwards with a cold weather crop, and they are in certain localities allowed to lie fallow,—in Nuddea and Comercolly for two or three years after every three successive years of cultivation—in Jessore, for one year after two years' cultivation. The *Aman* lands, on the other hand, do not always yield a second crop during the year, and, as a rule, they are never allowed to lie fallow; but the localities in which a system of fallows prevails would appear to be very limited. In most districts the soil is so rich that, without either fallows or manure, it yields crop after crop, year after year, without ever being exhausted.

Of the other crops grown besides rice, indigo is perhaps the most important in Bengal, occupying in some districts as much as one-eighth of the culturable area. Sugar-cane, mulberry, chillies, tobacco, and jute are also grown during the rains in about equal proportions. The cold weather crops are *oil-seeds* (which occupy about five-eighths of the land), *pulses* (one-fourth), and *grain* (one-eighth).

The greater part of the *Shálí* or rice land in Bengal yields but one crop in the year. Some of the *Saneh* lands, on the other hand, are said to yield as many as *three* successive crops in the year. Moreover, two crops are often sown simultaneously on the same land. Thus in Midnapore *khesárí* is sown in paddy-fields, and *sudrgunja* is grown with indigo. In Hooghly *teora* (a kind of pulse) grows simultaneously with paddy. In Tipperah *shatya* is sown with the *Aus* paddy. In Nuddea *arhar* and *kaláí* are grown with the *Aus* paddy, and *rai*, *matar*, and *kaláí* with Indigo. In Bancoorah

wheat or peas are grown with mustard, barley or gram with linseed, and cotton with gram. The yield of each is never so great as if the crop were sown singly, but the aggregate of the two is greater than one, and with two simultaneous crops a return of some sort is made more certain.

In Behar the *kharíf* lands, forming about $\frac{9}{16}$ths of the whole area of the province, produce but one crop in the year, paddy, *janerá* or *kalái*. This is also called the *Aghaní* crop. On other lands there are two crops, the *Bhádowí*, consisting of *janerá*, *marwa*, and *sathi* paddy, and then the *rabí*, or cold weather crops of seeds, wheat, barley, and poppy. In some parts *khesárí* is sown on paddy lands as in Bengal, and reaped in the following March or April. Fallows appear to be almost unknown.

Rice is, of course, the great crop of Orissa. Mr. Barton, an official of some experience in the province, whose statements may be relied on, estimates that there must be at least twenty different kinds of rice grown there. There are three crops—

(1). The *Sarud*, sown in May and June, and cut in January. This is the great crop of the province, and is sown on the best land.

(2). The *Beali*, sown also in May and reaped in October, after which pulses are grown on the same land.

(3). The *Dalna*, sown from December to February, and reaped about three months afterwards. This crop can only be grown on lands which are easily inundated.

Arhar is sown on high land and not on paddy land at all. Sugar-cane on *Beali* land. Tobacco, of which there is a good deal grown in Pooree, on the river banks. The only crops which are sown simultaneously in Orissa are *mandia* and *kalái*, and *kulthi* and *phesú*.

"Land when once brought into cultivation," writes Mr. Barton, "is never allowed to lie fallow, but is cropped as long as it "will bear. Fallow land in the strict sense of the term is "unknown. Only when sugar-cane is grown, land is sometimes "allowed to rest for a year or two, as the ryots have a firm belief "that this crop exhausts the land much."

In going through these papers, it is curious to remark the great difference which is reported in the yield of the soil in adjacent districts. In Bancoorah a beegah appears to yield 16 maunds of

paddy; in Maunbhoom 5 or 6 only; in Midnapore 10 maunds; and in Hooghly 16. In Tipperah the yield appears to be only 5 maunds. These statements regarding the average produce of various crops have been reduced to a tabular form in the Appendix, but an attempt will be made in some future number to render the Statement more accurate and complete.

Agency employed in Cultivation.

The next point on which the Council solicited information regarded the agency by which the cultivation of the soil is carried on. And, generally speaking, the result of our enquiries goes to show that almost the whole of the land in Bengal is held and cultivated in small patches by families or individual ryots, who use their own cattle and implements for the purpose. Such a class as the capitalist-farmers of England appears to be altogether unknown in this country. At the same time cases are reported in which hired labour is employed to work with the capital, and under the direction of, the master ryot. High caste Brahmin and Rajput ryots in Behar and elsewhere employ hired labour in this way, and a zemindar frequently in this manner himself holds and cultivates his own *Kámut* land. Our Maunbhoom correspondent mentions, as a curious fact, that while Brahmins and such like would sooner resort to beggary than lose caste by handling a *plough*, yet they do not scruple to use the *kodáli* (spade), to dig the earth, and aid the ploughman in other ways. But they religiously abstain from themselves touching the plough, which is worked by hired labourers.

It is the fact, too, that many of the Bengalis who are engaged in public offices or business in and around Calcutta hold and cultivate land by means of hired labour in the surrounding districts; the operations being superintended by a sort of head-servant or bailiff, and the master-farmer himself visiting the land from time to time. This practice, it is believed, is not uncommon in the district of Hooghly.

The average size of a ryot's holding appears to vary from 3 or 4 acres in Lower Bengal and Orissa to 5 and 6 acres in Behar. The reason of the smaller comparative holdings in the districts of Hooghly, Burdwan, and the 24-Pergunnahs is attributed to the scarcity of, and consequent competition for, land. The holding may either be taken in the name of a single ryot or in the names of two or three of the same family, but the opinion seems to be general that beyond the joint family, there is no attempt at combination in the taking and cultivating of land. An exception to this rule is

mentioned by a correspondent from Midnapore, who writes:—"A "family consisting of female and minor members only, joins with "another or other families having able-bodied male members."— And again, "in cases in which the zemindar does not like to "divide an entire *jumma*, ryots take the land in combination, "each of them being jointly and severally liable for the rent." But in such a case our Jessore correspondent adds, that the ryots immediately divide the lands among themselves.

In Orissa Mr. Barton says that this combination of ryots has lately become considerable, in consequence of the impoverishment of the people by the famine.

Mr. Barton also mentions a peculiar method of cultivation which is common in Pooree: "The owner of the land makes it over "to a ryot, who gives all the labour and pays to the owner part of "the produce in kind. This compact is known as *bhag*. There "are two sorts of it; *viz.*, *Sunja bhag*, when the particular amount "to be given is defined, and *Dhali bhag*, when the cultivator gets "one-half of the produce and the owner of the land the other "half." Mr. Barton would appear to imply that the capital is found by the land-owner, and if so, the system would appear to be the pure *métayer* system of Italy and France. Similarly, in Bengal, if a ryot's *jumma* exceeds the quantity he can cultivate himself, he either makes over a portion to a neighbour on the condition of an equal division of produce, or sub-lets it. In the former case sometimes the ryot finds the *seed* for the land as well as the *rent*; but generally the actual cultivator finds the whole of the capital as well as the labour required, the superior ryot paying the rent only. In regard to certain crops, the cultivation of which is more expensive, as sugar-cane and potatoe, the share of the superior ryot in this arrangement is one-third only, and this is called the *teoth* system. A similar practice would seem to be known in Maunbhoom, but our correspondent's meaning is not very intelligible: "Some people cultivate by admitting ryots to shares, who grow the "produce *at their own expense and labour*, the owners of the land "being satisfied with only one-third of the produce, the cattle and "implements being *their own*. The proportion between such pro- "prietors and cultivators is supposed to be $\frac{2}{3}$th and $\frac{1}{3}$th."

Regulation of Rents.

The *rent* of the holding is mainly regulated by *custom*. "It "is only when a piece of land is particularly fertile," writes Babú Jadúnath Rai of Kishnaghur, "or when it possesses peculiar advan-

"tages of situation, that there is any competition for it. Ordinarily "rents are paid according to a certain established *nirikh*, made out "from time to time in accordance with the supposed productive pow- "ers of the land. There are fixed *nirikhs* for each pergunnah, and "in 'uthbundí' tenures, a ryot can cultivate as much land as he "pleases on paying rent according to the *nirikh*. But the case is not "the same with jummas, which are generally let out at much less "than the fixed *nirikh*. Consequently there is a good deal of com- "petition for them, and the rents are regulated accordingly. When "there is any competition for *uthbundí* tenures the ryot would rather "pay the zemindar something in the shape of *saláma* than pay a "cowri above the fixed *nirikh*.

"The way in which the *nirikh* is changed is worthy of remark: "When a Mehal passes from one to another by ijára, putní, or "sale, the *nirikh* is generally changed. The ijárádar, putnídar, or the "new purchaser summons the principal ryots to his zemindarry "cutcherry, and informs them of his wish to enhance the *nirikh*, "either in the name of *ijáradari* or *putnídarí*, or some other sort of "contribution. If the ryots agree, the rates are at once increased; "otherwise he uses every means, legal or illegal, to harass them "till they yield to his wishes. When a zemindar is a monied or "influential man, and needs not to let out his estate in *ijára* or "*putní*, he generally levies some sort of contribution, either *Chunda* "or *Mathut*, at intervals when the ryot appears to be in good cir- "cumstances. These *Chundas* and *Mathuts* are *irregularly* realized "for some years, that is to say, they are only exacted from those "who are in a position to pay them easily, and not from such as are "in bad circumstances. This state of things continues until the "zemindar can realize the whole amount without any murmur on "the part of the ryots, when he thinks it expedient to incorporate it "with the former rent. The village lands are then measured again, "and the rents fixed according to an increased *nirikh*."

Of Pooree Mr. Barton writes as follows:—"Competition for "land exists, but it is local rather than general, being chiefly confined "to the village to which the land belongs. Custom, however, I "believe to have the chief influence in the regulation of rent. With "regard to that, all land is stereotyped into one of three kinds, and an "Oorya will seldom give more than its own stated rent for each kind. "They are thus known among the ryots:—

"(1). *Sardar*, literally the whole price. This is paid for the "best rice land, being Rs. 3-8 to Rs. 4 a beegah.

"(2). *Duffadar*, somewhat short of the full price, about "Rs. 2-8 a beegah.

"(3). *Kamdar*, low-price land, fetching only Rs. 1-4 a beegah.

"River banks often let at Rs. 8 a beegah, and even more. But "an Oorya ryot first asks as to the kind of land, and when he is told "that, the rent is a matter of course."

In Jessore there is said to be great competition for land. "The "demand for it is '*very high.*' This is the best cultivated district "in Bengal. Every pergunnah has its fixed rate of rent, but this "competition among the ryots often proves very injurious to them "by enhancing the rate."

EXTENT OF THE RYOT'S RESOURCES.

"The capital of a ryot," writes Babú Jadúnath Rai, "usually "consists of his house, a kutcha building thatched with straw, worth "Rs. 20 or 25, a cow-shed, worth Rs. 10 or 15, a pair or two of oxen, "worth Rs. 30 to Rs. 60, and his agricultural implements. These are "a *meda* (harrow), valued at Rs. 1-8, a plough worth Re. 1, a *moye* "(or levelling instrument) 2 annas, a spade or *koddli* Rs. 1-4, a *nirani* "(or weeding instrument) 2 annas, and a *kastia* or reaping instru- "ment 6 annas, or Rs. 4-6 in all. The capital of a ryot, therefore, "varies between Rs. 65 and Rs. 105."

We have similar replies from other districts. In Monghyr "an average ryot generally keeps 2 ploughs, 4 bullocks, a *kodal*, "a *khurpa*, a couple of *haswas*, and some stored produce. This is "predicated of a ryot in easy circumstances, but a poor ryot has "only his one plough, a pair of bullocks, a *kodal*, *khurpa* and *haswa*. "He has no stored produce and never any available money."

Mr. Barton writes of Pooree:—"A ryot usually has two bul- "locks, a plough, a cart, a spade, and a harrow. The harrow, however, "is only a block of wood on which the ryot stands while the bullocks "drag it—a fairly difficult gymnastic feat! A good many ryots "store grain, but it is only that of the current year, and is *always* "sold off by the end of the year. This remark applies only to well- "to-do ryots, of whom I am glad to say there are many in this "district, especially in the Government Estate of Khurda. The "poorer ryots sell off the grain as soon as it is threshed. The house "in which a ryot lives is chiefly his own. His cow-house is under "the same roof, and is generally that part of the house which is

"next the street. Few ryots have money, but in some villages there "are enterprising ryots, who save a rupee or two, and trade on it "with their neighbours."

In Maunbhoom the ryots are perhaps worse off than elsewhere, but there is one article which the poorest are not without, that is a charpoy matted with ropes. "Strange, yet true," writes our correspondent, "a ryot never lays himself down on the bare ground."

EMPLOYMENT OF HIRED OR BORROWED LABOUR.

The holding of a ryot being so restricted, it is not often that he has to look for extra labour beyond the limits of his own family circle. Labour is, however, both *hired* and *borrowed* to a considerable extent. In Orissa Mr. Barton estimates that one-half the labour employed in the cultivation of the soil is hired and paid for. In an agricultural village of 60 families in Jessore, three individuals only employed hired servants. The younger brothers of a well-to do ryot labour, while the eldest, the Mandal, directs and acts as superintendent, settling accounts with the zemindar and mahajun. The number that employ *hired* labour, writes Babu Shishir Coomar Ghose, may be estimated at six per cent. A Midnapore correspondent writes:—"It has been stated above that the "average extent of land actually cultivated by each ryot is 8 beegahs, "but it is not to be therefore understood that he *alone* either ploughs "or irrigates, or reaps the whole. When a ryot holds just so much "land as a single man can cultivate, the extra labour is borrowed, and "repaid by his own services; but when the holding exceeds that "limit, the ryot must pay the labourers in money, and this payment "varies from 1 anna to 1½ annas per diem. The charge for plough-"men is sometimes greater." In the adjoining district of Bancoorah, the charge for ploughmen is stated to be 2 annas per diem. In Maunbhoom the labourers are paid in kind at the rate of four or five seers of paddy a day, and in this way a labourer may earn twelve maunds of paddy during the season. Others are paid by a fixed share of the produce. In Hooghly and 24-Pergunnahs, the wages of an agricultural labourer average from three annas to six annas per diem. The hire of a plough and yoke of oxen is four annas a day.

Babú Bhugwun Chunder Bose thus writes from Tipperah:— "Generally the ryots have recourse to hired labour at the time of "ploughing and reaping. At the former season they keep one or "two servants, and at the latter as many as twenty or thirty, who "are employed at the same time and paid in kind, each man being

"allowed a bundle of paddy. But when a family consists of three "or four individuals capable of work, and is rich enough to possess "two or three ploughs, hired labour is not employed. There exists "a practice in Pergunnah Sarail, under which ryots holding distinct "lands assist each other by the loan of ploughs and cattle as well "as their own labour. In some cases a money payment is made, "and in other the labour is exchanged."

But the Nuddea division would seem to be the locality in which this system of *exchanging* labour flourishes best. Babú Jadúnath Rai thus describes it:—"Hired labour is not so common as the system "of *gántha*; it is only when a *gántha* cannot be formed, or when "the urgency of the occasion requires the immediate employment "of coolies, that recourse is had to hired daily labour. A *gántha* "means a contract or combination formed among cultivators to "assist each other by the mutual loan of labour and implements. "For example, A possesses two pair of oxen and a plough; he "forms a *gántha* with five, six or ten others, all of whom come on "a certain day to A's land and work together for a fixed time. "On the second day B's land is taken up, and so on for five, six, "or ten days. Almost all the processes of cultivation from plough-"ing to reaping are carried on by *gántha*. But one and the same "*gántha* does not exist from the commencement throughout. "Separate *gánthas* are formed among different parties from time to "time, and it is only when A finds that he cannot form a *gántha*, "or that his fields will be overgrown with weeds before his turn for "the *gántha* comes, that he is compelled to employ hired labour. "The obligation of the *gántha* is then sold to a stranger. The word "*gántha* is perhaps a corruption of the Sanskrit word *granthana*, a "knot, from *grantha*, to join."

In Behar, where the ryots as a body would appear to be much better off and to cultivate larger holdings than in Bengal Proper, the employment of paid labourers is the rule rather than the exception. The well-to-do ryots keep their own *harwáhás* and *kameeas*, and others employ them from time to time, as required. They advance them a sum of money without interest, binding them to plough whenever wanted until the amount is repaid. For each day's labour, they receive diet at the rate of two seers of grain per man.

Functions of the Mahajun.

Such, however, is the impecuniosity of the ordinary Bengal ryot, that no cultivation can be carried on—nay, often life itself cannot be supported—without the aid of the money-lender or mahajun.

The replies to the Society's question show that there are very few ryots who are altogether independent of the village mahajun. The number of these exceptional cases is almost unanimously estimated at from one to six per cent. of the whole. In Tipperah only we are told that "about half the ryots of this Sub-division (Nasirnagar) "have capital of their own and are independent of the mahajun." In Maunbhoom the proportion of free and independent ryots is estimated at $\frac{1}{8}$th. Babú Prosono Coomar Sen says of Narail:—"The high "price of paddy during the last few years has very much improved "the condition of the ryots. Nearly a sixth of them have been "rendered independent of the mahajun and possess capital of their "own." "The ryots no sooner become independent however," writes Babú Shishir Coomar Ghose, "than they themselves become "mahajuns in their turn." Babú Joykissen Mookerjea confirms this statement as regards the districts of Howrah, Burdwan, and the 24-Pergunnahs. He estimates that nearly $\frac{5}{16}$ths of the ryots are independent; about one-half have to borrow for half the year, and the rest are in a chronic state of indebtedness. A class of independent ryots has also sprung into existence, and appears to be on the increase in Hooghly, Burdwan, and Jessore.

The assistance of the *mahajun* is given by way of advances, either by loans of money or of grain under the usurious *bárhí* system. As a rule, it may be laid down that the latter is the more general shape which these advances take. Grain is required by the ryot for two purposes; (1), for *seed*, and (2), for *food*, till the next crop is ripe. Grain advanced for seed is repayable at harvest time with 100 per cent. in addition by way of interest. Grain advanced for food carries 50 per cent. interest. The distinction is very curious, and it is almost universal. It is curious, because it accords with the great distinction between productive and unproductive wealth. There are some minor differences, however, in the practice of the *mahajuns* in different districts, and as the subject is one of considerable interest, it may be pardonable to quote at greater length from the replies which the Association has received:—

Babú Jadúnath Rai (of Kishnaghur) writes:—"The mahajuns "advance paddy in measures that are repaid in kind with 50 per "cent. interest on the principal. The paddy or other kind of grain "used for seed is repaid, increased by an equal quantity by way of "interest. There is no difference in the interest on account of the "time of the advance; for instance, paddy advanced in the month of "April or May is repaid in the same manner, and with the same in-"terest on the principal, as that advanced in August. The advance

"of paddy covers almost all the expenses of the ryot, except his rent, "which is generally paid in money. The money advanced by the "mahajun for rent or casual expenses is repaid after the cold weather "crops are reaped, with interest at the rate of 37 or 38 per cent."

Babú Shishir Coomar Ghose writes of Jessore:—"Paddy is ad- "vanced in April, May, and June. The ryot chooses his own time "for repayment. He must pay within the year, and the interest "must be one-half of the quantity advanced, but he derives no "advantage from paying early, for the charge is just the same. "Yet the ryots pay a large part in July, and the rest in January, in "order to maintain their credit."*

"In Midnapore the advances of *paddy* are generally made by "the zemindar, to whom the crop is hypothecated in the first place "for the *rent*, and in the next for repayment of these advances. The "rates of interest, or usury as it may be termed, is, however, the "same." This is not always the case. Our Bancoorah correspondent says:—"Good zemindars generally advance money to their ryots to "avoid their going over to the village merchants, charging them "12 per cent. per annum. The people thus not only get money at "moderate rates of interest, but have the further advantage of being "able to sell their own crop at market rates." So Babú Rash Behary Bose of Khoolna:—"It is generally not from the mahajun, "but from the zemindar, that the ryots take advances."

One of our Midnapore correspondents states that if the advance is made in October, instead of in June, the amount is repaid with one-third only instead of with one-half in addition, but this statement is not confirmed by any other writer. On the contrary Babú Gourdass Bysack states that the rate of interest varies in Maunbhoom *inversely* as the period for which the loan is advanced. "Mahajuns' advances," he writes, "generally assume the shape of seeds and paddy; the former "for sowing, and the latter for the current consumption of the ryot. "In rare cases money is lent. The former is repaid by 50 to 100 per "cent., and the latter at an interest of 24 to 30 per cent. per annum. "It depends upon the length of time for which the loan is sought; "if it is taken in Assar, there is a longer prospect of interest and "the charge is less. If at a later time, when the cultivation is in pro- "gress, the interest is greater, but the figures above quoted are rarely "exceeded."

* [Query.—Is it not rather taken from them?]

In Bancoorah also the rates of interest appear to be only half what they are further east. A zemindar of that district, Babú Radha Churn Gangooly, writes:—"There are petty tradesmen in "the villages here, who are assisted by the merchants of adjacent "markets to advance money to the cultivators for which they gen- "erally charge 24 per cent. per annum; and when seed and food "are advanced, they are to return the articles in kind with 50 per "cent. for seed, and 24 per cent. for food on the quantity advanced."

In Orissa the rate is generally 50 per cent. Mr. Barton writes:— "The mahajun advances seed grain generally at the rate known as "*deri*, that is, the seed is to be repaid from the next crop, plus 50 "per cent. as interest. The *deri* compact is the general one on *all* "loans of rice, but sometimes a shady ryot with a bad character is "obliged to come under the shears of the *do-put* contract, or 100 "per cent. per annum. The ryot generally borrows paddy, but he "sometimes indulges in the loan of money also."

In Behar the ryot would appear to borrow money as often as grain, and the rates are much lower than in Bengal Proper, rarely indeed exceeding 24 per cent. "A ryot wants grain for "seed," writes our Monghyr correspondent, "and for his own use "during the cultivating season, July and August. He goes to the "*mahajun* and gets a rupee's worth. Suppose grain sells at "50 seers, the mahajun gives him 45 seers only, and gets a bond for "Re. 1-4. It is agreed that the ryot repays him in December or "January in cash or in kind, which latter is taken at the then "maximum market rate. If perchance the ryot is unable to repay "within the stipulated time interest is charged on the balance at "the rate of 2 per cent. per mensem. If he borrows a rupee in "cash he gives a bond for Re. 1-4, engaging to repay the amount "on the gathering of the crops in cash or in kind. The mahajun "generally prefers being repaid in kind."

As regards the rate of interest charged for these advances, it will be seen that the replies are most conflicting even for the same district; the rates given varying from 18 to 100 per cent. It may be gathered, however, that interest on *money advances* ranges from 24 to 35½ per cent, while on paddy it is generally 50 per cent. After all, it must be remembered, as is remarked by Babú Shishir Coomar Ghose, "the mahajun advances dried paddy, and gets new and moist "paddy in return. By this he loses ⅛th of his apparent profit, "which is thereby reduced to 37½ per cent., as in the case of "cash advances. Another ⅛th is probably lost from the roguery

"or poverty of his creditors. Of course there are some who are "ruined by such transactions, but a profit of 25 per cent. on ad- "vances of paddy may be fairly expected."

EXTENT TO WHICH THE RYOT CAN DISCHARGE HIS OBLIGATIONS.

How far the ryot is able to discharge his debt at the close of the season is a matter on which considerable difference of opinion is expressed. *Primâ facie,* it might certainly be thought that, with a rate of interest varying from 25 to 50 per cent. upon the working capital, the profits upon agriculture in this country must be very exceptional, to enable a ryot to liquidate the advances taken each year, besides paying wages and rent. Let us, however, examine our authorities. On the one side we have replies such as these: "The "account between the ryot and the mahajun is always annually "settled, but *it is seldom a poor ryot gets his discharge.* The debt "continues for some time, until he is in a better position to meet "the mahajun's demands." (Monghyr). "There is an account "annually, but *rarely complete discharge of debt.*" (Maunbhoom). "*The account is scarcely ever settled at the end of the year with the* "*mahajun.* Generally the ryot pays ¾ths of what he owes, leaving "a fourth unpaid. The ruinous interest keeps the ryot without "interruption between the fangs of the usurer, where he sticks till "he dies or has the last drop of blood sucked out of him." (Pooree). "The account between the ryot and mahajun is not always settled "annually." (Tipperah). "*If the proceeds of the cultivation turn out* "*fair,* the ryot pays both principal and interest, otherwise the debt "hangs on from year to year."

On the other hand, we have opinions such as these:—"The "account between the ryot and mahajun is annually settled, and the "balance discharged, *excepting in case of scarcity.*" (Jessore). "The "ryots are very punctual in their payments, but in bad seasons many "ryots are not able to pay up all they owe." (Jessore). "The ryots, "with few exceptions, pay off their debts in the month of Magh." (Midnapore). "The *dena paona* between them is cleared off annu- "ally." (Midnapore). "The account between him and the ryot is "settled annually, and the balance, except in few instances, dis- "charged." (Hooghly).

Many of our correspondents avoid giving any opinion whatever on the subject, and the balance of such opinions as are expressed would appear to be pretty equal. It is admitted, however, by almost all that there are cases every year in which the ryot is not able to liquidate his advances, and we may therefore fairly conclude that the

number of such cases is not inconsiderable. Indeed, when it is considered how ruinous the system of working upon borrowed capital has proved in the cultivation of such valuable crops as tea and indigo, it can scarcely be the fact that a similar system should be remunerative in the case of the ordinary products of the soil, and when the rate of interest is at least double that which is charged in the case of European enterprise.

But our correspondents are unanimous in the assertion that, whenever a ryot does fail in this way to liquidate his obligations at the season's close, the balance of both principal and interest due is carried on to the next year, at precisely the same rate of interest as if it were a fresh advance. Thus the debt accumulates at compound interest at rates varying from 25 to 50 per cent., and it may perhaps be stated without fear of contradiction that if a ryot once fails to meet his obligations, and no very extraordinary season intervene, he must sooner or later become hopelessly involved and ruined.

Disposal of the Crop.

When the ryot is thus bound hand and foot to the mahajun it is not to be expected that the crop should be at his free disposal. It is in fact hypothecated to the mahajun, and on being reaped is often stored at once in his *khamar*, or threshing floor. In Bengal Proper this is generally the case, so far at least as the rice crop is concerned; the number of ryots, who are not dependent on the mahajun, being small. The mahajun further appraises the crop at 2 annas per rupee below the market price.* As regards the cold weather crops, they are generally purchased from the ryot by *beparis*, petty dealers, who sell them to *aratdars* or brokers, to be transferred by them again to traders or shop-keepers. A large proportion of these crops are, however, kept by the ryot for his own use.

Babú Gour Dass Bysack writes, speaking of the rice crop in Maunbhoom:—"As the greater part of the produce happens to be "hypothecated, the disposal of it virtually rests with the mahajun, "who often manages to appropriate the whole to his own benefit. "A considerable portion goes out of the district by means of be-"paris, who come from other districts with such commodities as "salt, clothes, and the necessaries of life. Most of the ryot's bar-"gains and transactions are made by barter. Sales take place at

* The produce is sometimes stored out of doors, but more often inside the house. Babú Shishir Coomar Ghose significantly remarks that the License Tax will drive it all in. Babú Shishir Coomar Ghose, we believe, is an Assessor.

"hâts, but a ryot rarely leaves them with money; he acquires the "articles needed by him in *exchange*. * * * As a "rule, every person is expected to replenish his *marāi* against the "year's consumption, but the poor *chasa's* little supply soon runs out, "and he is left, as ever, a hanger on on the hands of the usurer and "the speculator. It is true that a considerable portion of the produce "is disposed of both at the hâts and in the compound, but in very "few cases is it in the interest of the ryot."

A correspondent from Midnapore states that, after paying his rent and the expenses of cultivation, a ryot will have ¼th of the crop left for himself; but this, it must be presumed, is predicated of an independent ryot, who has freed himself from the grasp of the mahajun.

Mr. Barton thus describes the manner in which the rice crop is disposed of in Orissa:—

"The rice crop is first threshed out by the treading of oxen "in the house of the ryot. It is then cleaned by being riddled "through a sieve, the wind blowing the chaff away. If there is no "wind, an artificial current of air is created by means of fans.

"The grain now assumes the form of *paddy*, which is for the "most part disposed of in the following way: The first thing is to "store sufficient for next year's seed, and this is religiously preserved. "The ryot then conveys to his mahajun as much paddy as he can in "payment of his debt. He afterwards stores as much as is con- "sistent with the above for his own use, but if he cannot afford "to store it, he disposes of it in the following manner: He himself "takes it to market in his cart, where he is met by an institution of "the mahajuns. Each mahajun entertains a number of touters for "grain, called *dandidars*, who frequent the routes pursued by the "ryots to market, and use every endeavour to persuade them to dis- "pose of their grain to their respective masters. No doubt these "*dandidars* are often instrumental in causing the ryot loss and "inconvenience. If the ryot does not himself take the grain to "market, he disposes of it to some itinerating grain merchant, or "to the village agent of the mahajun.

"Paddy, as every one knows, is converted into rice before con- "sumption, and this is done by the people themselves, for it is pre- "fitable, especially to the poor, whose women and children can do "the *dhenki* work. It may be stated generally that the husked rice "sold in the market is converted from paddy by labour *expended on* "*it in the house of the ryot.*

"The rice universally eaten here is called 'osuna,' from the fact "that the paddy is par-boiled before it is husked. A little *arua* "rice is also made."

Population and Marriage.

A most interesting, and indeed a most important, consideration connected with the agriculture of any country is the ratio which its population bears to the land. But until we have a regular, periodical and accurate census in India, all questions relating to population must be more or less subject to doubt and error. We have reason for believing that the population of Bengal is remarkably dense—the population of the North-West Provinces is as dense as that of England—and it is an undoubted fact that it is mainly agricultural. A most intelligent zemindar of Orissa—a gentleman well known in this city—took a census of his estates there shortly before the famine of 1866, and he states that he found from 600 to 700 souls to the square mile. If that is a true average, those parts of Orissa are inhabited with a density nearly twice that of Belgium, the most densely populated country in Europe. And, although one-third of the population of Orissa is said to have been carried off by the ravages of the famine, I myself witnessed a few months ago the greatest competition going on for the holdings of those who had fallen victims to that calamity. And yet Orissa exported rice largely before the famine, and doubtless will shortly do so again.

Without some statistics, it would be impossible even to guess at the rate at which population normally progresses in this country. And even if we had statistics, a single year of those famines or pestilences by which this country is periodically devastated, would cause a disturbance in the calculations not to be easily remedied. But the question arises, whether there is any limit, short of such national calamities, to the natural increase of the human species in this country. I am myself inclined to think not. Malthusian doctrines are not popular anywhere; but in Europe a man does not ordinarily take to himself a wife until he has acquired the means of supporting her as well as himself. In India, on the contrary, no such considerations affect the question of marriage. Marriages take place at an early age, before the husband is able to support himself even, and they take place as a matter of course. Assuming further that they are at least as prolific as marriages in England, what is there to prevent over-population in this country, but those visitations of Providence of which it has such painful experience? The answers to the Society's enquiry on this point

are unanimous. Girls at least must be and are married before the age of puberty. "This superstitious custom," writes Babu Jadunath Rai, "in a manner necessitates the early marriage of "men also, for no man of 25 or 30 would like to marry a girl of "10. It is none the less incumbent on parents to marry their "male children, but it is not considered improper or irreligious to "wait till they are old enough to earn their means of livelihood."

"Marriage among the agricultural classes," writes Babu Prosono Coomar Sen, "is a matter of course at the age of between "eighteen and twenty-four generally; it is not governed by any "prudential considerations. When they arrive at the above men-"tioned age, they must marry as soon as they obtain a good crop. "If they do not obtain any good crop soon, they make a contract "with some rich man who requires their services, take their one "year's pay in advance and spend the amount in marriage. Some "five or six years back, the annual wages of one of the agricultural "class was hardly above Rs. 15, of which Rs. 10 would be paid as "*pun* for the daughter, and the remaining Rs. 5 they would spend "in performing other ceremonies considered as necessary to the "formation of a marriage tie. But during the last few years the "annual pay of one of this class has been raised from Rs. 15 to "Rs. 36 per annum; the *pun* for the daughter has also been increas-"ed from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 nearly, and the ceremonial expenses "have likewise been proportionably increased. This shows a con-"siderable improvement in their condition. But prudential motives "do not govern their marriage even now."

"Marriage among the agricultural classes," writes Babu Gour Dass Bysack, "takes place as soon as the ryot is able to scrape "together the expenses of a wedding. There is no fixed age, but it "is governed by no considerations of the means of living. Such "an idea never enters the head of a ryot. His idea of life is that "he was born to marry and to leave progeny for his salvation, and "marry he will, come what may, as soon as he is in a position "to meet the necessary charges. The parents often settle their "children in wedlock before they are old enough to act for them-"selves, and in no case is the question hampered by a thought for "the future."

Mr. Barton writes: "Very many families insist throughout "their castes that the men and women shall marry at ages varying "for the former from 20 to 25 and for the latter from 12 to 25. "If observation is confined to those Hindus only whose status and "character with their caste-brethren are good, and who themselves

"desire to live in good favour with their caste, it may be laid down "as a general rule, that marriage of the males at the age of from "20 to 25 is a matter of course. Bachelorhood after this age "would be considered highly discreditable, and would inflict upon "the culprit a loss of status and respectability in his community. "The people who have a regard to the privileges and requirements "of caste form an overwhelming majority of the country popu- "lation."

"As to their regarding the means of living in a question of "marriage," he continues, "doubtless if a united Hindu family "could only support *in life* its present members, they would not add "to their number by marriage. I do not, however, believe that "anything short of *severe privation* would stop a respectable Hindu "from marrying off his son or daughter at the customary age. "Without a doubt the privation, to stop such marriages, must be *very* "*severe.* I noticed in the famine of 1866 that marriages among the "agricultural population entirely ceased *in the crisis of suffering*, "but that when the people got a little relief, just as much as would "permit them as it were to catch their breath, they broke out again "into marriage in a curious way." And again "nothing short of "starvation would stop a Hindu who is in caste and respectable "from marrying at 20 or 25; and when we consider how very little "is necessary to keep him from starvation, it may be said that a "respectable Hindu marries at once, without giving himself much "thought for the morrow."

Education.

It is now beginning to be admitted that popular education is not the strong point in the Bengal system of administration. The replies which have been received to the Society's enquiry on the subject only confirm the fact. Very few of the ryots indeed send their children to the village *patshalas*. We quote some of the statements we have received on the subject: "The ryots' children "receive no education. They tend the cattle from the age of eight "to twelve, when they begin to learn the business of the field." (Jessore). Babu Jadunath Rai says: "Education has not yet "reached the threshold of the ryot. His children serve him in "several ways, such as tending the cattle while grazing in the field, "supplying him with meals and water while at work, carrying errands "from the field to his house, and performing many other little duties "in the way of an assistant. An intelligent countryman was asked "in the course of conversation why the ryots did not send their

"children to the *patshalas* that had been opened in the adjacent "villages. He replied, 'Children, if sent to school, become useless "'for our purposes, inasmuch as, unless they are inured to toil and "'hardship and accustomed to bear the heat of the sun from their "'infancy, they are unfit to labour in the field, and our means do not "'enable us to continue their studies long enough for them to become "'useful to us in any other way.' The children of such ryots only "learn to read and write as can easily spare their services from the "field and afford to keep them sufficiently long at school. One who "learns to read and write thinks it a degradation to handle a plough "or any other agricultural implement." And this statement is confirmed by several other writers. "Those who receive any education "at all generally seek employment under Government or the zemin-"dar, and are rarely employed upon the land" (Jessore). "Once "they learn to read and write, and they seldom return to agricultural "pursuits." (Jessore.) "The educated villager will turn out a "mookhtear or an amlah. Mahomedan ryots generally teach their "lads to enable them to become mookhtears in after-life" (Purneah). Those who do avail themselves of village schools appear to be the richer and higher castes, as Brahmins, Rajputs, and Kayesths, whose children will not under ordinary circumstances be compelled to handle the plough. These boys simply learn to read and write Bengalee, to add and substract and keep accounts, so as to be able to check the receipts given them by their zemindar or mahajun.

Regarding the difficulty in the way of teaching raised by Babu Jadunath Rai's "intelligent countryman," namely, the loss of the children's services during the day time and the necessity of inuring them early in life to bear the sun, our Tipperah correspondent makes the obvious suggestion of establishing *night* schools.

In Orissa education seems to be more highly prized. Mr. Barton writes:—

"An Oorya prides himself on his power of signing his name, "and reading his Bhagbat in the evening to his neighbours and "family, when the day's work is done. If, therefore, the Oorya "ryot can afford it, no doubt he likes to allow his son to acquire "these accomplishments. The sons of a respectable ryot go to the "village *patshala* when they are 5 or 6 years old, stay there for "various periods according to the father's circumstances, but gen-"erally leave off their education at the age of 10 or 12, when they "begin work. In a village of 100 people, from 4 to 14 boys may "be found in the school."

The result then of the Society's enquiries in this direction would seem to show that the cultivation of the soil in Bengal is carried on under a system of *la petite culture*, or minute farming; that the actual cultivator or ryot, however, is in no sense a proprietor, but a mere tenant, it may be with rights of occupancy or a tenant-at-will; that, however secure his occupancy, his rent at least is ill-defined, payable as often in kind as in money, and liable to be as frequently enhanced by illegal extortion as by the ordinary agency of the courts; that so far from receiving assistance, encouragement and sympathy from his landlord, he is almost always in a position of antagonism, if not actually in litigation with him; that he has rarely the capital necessary for the season's operations, and, in consequence, has to borrow at usurious rates of interest, which absorb all the profits of cultivation; and that in very many cases he is a mere serf and bondman from one year to another in the hands of the village mahajun. 'We nevertheless see a soil so rich and fertile that, with no scientific culture, with the rudest of implements and the most primitive system of fallows and rotation of crops, it yields two and even three harvests in the year in return for the minimum of labour that is bestowed upon it. But the improvements in agriculture are few and rare. The zemindar is often an absentee landlord, caring only for his rents which his agents are expected to remit with punctuality and in full tale. May be he has nothing whatever to do with the collection of rents, having sub-let his estate in *putni* or *ijara* to another, and being content with a moderate fixed payment in lieu of the trouble and risk of dealing directly with his ryots. The dependent talookdar again, if his occupancy is limited, finds it convenient to disregard the prospect of greater productiveness in future years in the enjoyment of present returns; it is equally his interest to drain the resources of the soil and of the cultivator, until both are exhausted. The ryot, a child of ignorance and superstition, is a mere machine, as it were, working at the will and for the sole profit of his landlord and the mahajun. For, even if he is fairly treated by his zemindar, it is probable that he is nevertheless bound down to the village money-lender. His rent may be light, but the last penny will be wrung from him in usury. There are no profits left for himself, no capital is accumulated for improvements. And so the Bengal ryot toils on from year to year, all motives to energy and industry sapped or eradicated, sick at heart of hope deferred, careless of the future, living from hand to mouth and yet marrying his children while mere infants to perpetuate a system of misery and wretchedness, till some season of drought or some fearful cyclone comes and finds him unprepared and hurries him away.

I do not mean to say that there are not exceptional cases. There are landlords, meaning by the term those who are in the actual receipt of the rents, who take a lively interest in their tenants and in agricultural improvements, and there are ryots who are in a manner independent, and who are rapidly accumulating capital of their own. The number of both is, I believe, yearly increasing. But the replies to the enquiries of this Association—replies which have been mainly furnished, it must be remembered, by zemindars—show that the general condition of the country and of its agricultural population is not very different from what I have sketched.

Now, is this state of things good for the country or for the people? Does it succeed in getting the most out of the land? Does it conduce to the welfare of the ryot, or the true interests of the zemindar? Though the holdings are so sub-divided, is the most made of every beegha? Is it well dug, well watered, well manured, cultivated with intelligence and energy? Is it not rather left to nature and the seasons.

Those who are most in favour of *la petite culture* admit that there are conditions which are indispensably necessary to its success. One of such conditions is—if not absolute proprietary right in the soil—at least security of tenure and fixity of rent for a longer or shorter period. Another may be said to be a sufficiency of working capital to carry on the season's operations. But do either of these conditions exist in Bengal?

And if the land is not cultivated to its full extent, if it is not made to yield as much as under the circumstances it ought to yield, do not the zemindar's interests suffer also? Putting aside the question of pecuniary advantage, does not the zemindar benefit in other ways by having a prosperous, contented and well-ordered tenantry? Or is the Bengal ryot really a happy and contented man? Is he more so, at least, than his buffalo or his ox? Has he aspirations, hopes, fears and enjoyments above theirs? Do the peasantry of this province really constitute its pride and strength? Are they as industrious, as intelligent and as enterprising as we should desire to see them?

Such statistics as those before us, however, would be of little use, if they did not point out the remedy for some at least of the evils which would seem to be inherent in the present system. And the first consideration which will probably suggest itself to every one is, that greater facilities ought to be afforded

to the ryot for accumulating capital of his own, so as at any rate to be able to carry on the season's cultivation without being under the necessity of having recourse to the mahajun. No crop can leave more than a bare subsistence to the ryot, when interest, at the rate of from 25 to 50 per cent., has to be paid on the working capital.

Now it would seem as if there were at least three causes which militated against the independence and prosperity of the Bengal ryot. In the first place, notwithstanding Act X of 1859, the relations between tenant and landlord are still very unsatisfactory and ill-defined. Although nearly ten years have elapsed since that Act of the Legislature was passed, we may venture to say that many of the abuses against which it was directed flourish as widely as ever. The exchange of pottah and kabuliut is still the exception rather than the rule. Even if a pottah is granted to a ryot, it will probably bind him to pay the "customary *abwab*." What the *abwab* of the present day are, we are told by Babu Jadunath Rai, and his statement does not stand alone or unconfirmed, when he says that no sooner does the ryot begin to show signs of increased prosperity, than some new exaction is devised by his landlord, the enforcement of which reduces him to the level of the rest. It is obvious that no peasantry can prosper under such conditions. If cultivators are to be encouraged to save, there must be some guarantee afforded them that their savings will not be taken from them; that they will be themselves allowed to enjoy what they have earned by the sweat of their brow.

The second cause, to which may be attributed the wretched and impoverished condition of the Bengal ryot, is the necessity which drives him to borrow from the mahajun at ruinous and extortionate rates of interest. It has been pointed out that these usurious rates must, in the nature of things, swallow up whatever profit the ryot might make upon the season's cultivation; in many cases we have seen that the profits of cultivation do not suffice to pay the bare interest. Accumulation of capital, therefore, under such circumstances, is simply an impossibility. If the ryot were assisted with advances at a reasonable rate of interest, say 12 per cent., and if at the same time he had some guarantee that any profit he made upon the crop would not be taken from him, either by way of enhancement of his rent or in the shape of *abwab*, there can be little doubt that, in a few years, we should see his condition materially ameliorated and the foundation laid for building up a prosperous and rising class of sturdy yeomen who would be a

source of strength to their landlords, the country and the Government. In some districts we are told that the zemindars have begun to see the evil of the present system in the light in which we have viewed it, and that they have themselves undertaken to advance the working capital required by their ryots at moderate rates of interest. It is to be hoped that their example and the success which must attend such a proceeding, will stimulate others elsewhere to do the same.

The system of paying the zemindar or mahajun in produce, instead of in money, is also a pernicious custom, striking, as it does, at the root of all motive to improvement. It is a relic of barbaric times, when exchange was carried on by barter, and when a circulating medium was unknown. The system is pernicious for this reason: if a fixed proportion of the produce be paid as rent, the ryot is discouraged from making improvements and laying out capital, the returns for which are appropriated by another. If, on the other hand, a certain quantity of grain has to be delivered either to the zemindar or the mahajun, the ryot gets no benefit from a dear market. If it is a bad season, he cannot take advantage of the general rise of prices to compensate for a short crop; he is probably unable to meet his liabilities, and he is fortunate if he is not further compelled to execute a bond for payment at some future time *in cash* at the prices then ruling. There is of course the further objection, so far as our returns show, that advances of grain, *to be repaid in kind*, carry a rate of interest double that which is charged in the case of money-loans. There may be good reason for this. The new grain may possess greater bulk or weight than that which was advanced, and there is probably a considerable difference in the price of grain at the time of sowing and at the time of harvest. However this may be, the complications which are liable to arise out of the system, and the cause which it not unfrequently is of disagreement and bad relations between the parties, must be admitted to be sound arguments for its discontinuance.

Such are the lessons we would draw from the present returns. It will be seen that the information which the Society has acquired on this subject, tends to confirm the results enunciated by the President in his last address, though derived from sources altogether independent. It may be that further enquiry in the same direction will expose other peculiarities in the agricultural regime of this country, the removal or modification of which may seem desirable. The Association invites the free discussion of such questions, with a view to the discovery and propagation of the truth, and the

amelioration of the present condition of the agricultural classes of Bengal. It is quite possible for every enlightend zemindar to assist in the enquiry, and it is to be hoped that he will see his own advantage in seconding those who are making the endeavour to raise and improve the condition of his tenantry. Such a one should never forget that not only is it the agricultural classes whose labours contribute to his maintenance and welfare, but it is their prosperity and contentment which are the best guarantee for the safety and security of the country.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX

Comparative Statement showing the average produce (in maunds)

	Diamond Harbour, 24-Pergunnahs.	Hooghly.	Bancoorah.	Bancoorah, Bood-Bood.
	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.
A'man or Winter Paddy ...	10 to 12	16	16	12 to 14
A'us or early Paddy	3 to 4	.....	.....	10 to 12
Barley	.....	.....	4	1½ to 2
Wheat	.....	.....	4	1½ to 2
Linseed	.....	.....	3	.....
Sooar Gunjá	.....	.....	2	.....
Mustard Seed	.....	2	3	1½ to 2
Mash Kalái	2½ to 3	3	2	.....
Moog Kalái	1½ to 2	3	.....	.....
Gram	.....	3	4	1½ to 2
Vetch	1½ to 2	3	.....	.....
Lentils	.....	3	4	.....
Peas	.....	3	.....	1½ to 2
Arhur	.....	3	4	.....
Potatoe	.....	60	.....	.....
Sugarcane (Molasses)	.....	8	20	10
Indigo	.....	Bundles. 60	Bundles. 30	Bundles. 70
Cotton	.....	.....	3	Mds. 2
Hemp	.....	1½	.....	.....
Sessamum (Til)	.....	2	4	1½ to 2

I.

per beegah of certain crops grown in the Districts named.

Tipperah, Per kani=1¼ beegahs.	Midnapore.	Howrah.	Burdwan.	Burdwan, Chuckdiggee.	Beerbhoom.
Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.
6	10	8 to 10	8 to 10	7½	12
.....	5	6 to 7	6 to 7	7½	
.....	1½	.....	.....	½	
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12
1½					
.....	3				
1¼	2 to 3	.....	.....	1	
2½	3	2 to 2½	1½ to 1¾	2	2½
1½	2	2½			
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2½
2½	2	.....	.....	.....	2½
.....	.....	2 to 2½	.....	.....	2½
2½	2	.....	.....	.....	2½
.....	.....	2 to 2½			
	Rs.				
7	10	.....	.....	15	
7	2	15 to 16	9 to 10	15	12
Bundles.	Mds.				Bundles.
8	20	.....	.....	.....	16
.....	1¼	2	Seers 25 to 40	.....	2
1½	2				
1¼	2				

APPENDIX

Comparative Statement showing the average price per

PRODUCE.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857.	1858.
Bancoorah.	Rs. A.P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Paddy	..	...	...	...	..	...	...	...
Mustard	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wheat	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Barley	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gram	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lentils	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kalái	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Linseed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Molasses	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bhaugulpore.								
Paddy	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rice	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wheat	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Barley	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gram	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Oats	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kalái	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Peas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lentils	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Arhur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indian corn	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Burdwan.								
Paddy	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...
Gram	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Peas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lentils	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mustard	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Barley	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

II.

maund of certain crops grown in the Districts named.

1859.	1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.
Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
...	0 9 0	0 6 0	0 6 0	0 5 6	0 7 6	0 9 0	1 4 0	0 12 0	.....
...	2 4 9	2 4 0	1 15 0	1 13 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	2 12 0	2 2 0	.....
...	1 8 0	1 6 0	1 5 0	1 10 0	1 12 0	1 12 0	3 4 0	1 12 0	.....
...	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 6 6	0 6 6	0 5 6	0 7 6	1 8 0	1 4 0	.....
...	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 3 0	1 4 0	1 12 0	2 12 0	2 0 0	.....
...	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 3 0	1 4 0	1 12 0	2 12 0	2 0 0	.....
...	2 8 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	7 8 0	8 0 0	3 2 0	3 4 0	.....
...	3 0 0	3 8 0	3 4 0	4 0 0	4 4 0	4 0 0	4 0 0	4 0 0	.....
...	3 0 0	3 0 0	5 12 0	5 12 0	4 0 0	4 12 0	4 0 0	6 0 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	1-9 to 2-10	1-9 to 2-10	1-5 to 0-13	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	2-8 to 4-7	3-5 to 6-10	2-8 to 1-7	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	3 to 4-7	5 to 4	2-13 to 1-13	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	1-2-6 to 4	3-5	1 2 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	1-13 to 4-7	4-7 to 3-5	3 to 1-13	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	2 0 0	2-10	1 8 6	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	1-12 to 3	2-8 to 2-13	2-3 to 1-12	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2-8	2 to 1-13	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	1-9	5 0 0	2 13 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	2-3 to 2-13	3-11	1 13 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	3 0 0	3-5 to 1-1	3 to 1	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	1 2 0	1 12 0	0 14 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	3 5 0	5 0 0	2 8 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	2 13 0	3 5 0	2 3 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	3 5 0	3 5 0	2 13 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	3 5 0	4 0 0	3 5 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 13 0	.....

Comparative

Produce.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857.	1858.
Burdwan,—*contd.*	Rs. A.P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Wheat	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Molasses	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Til	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cotton	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Linseed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sooar Gunjá	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Biri Kalái	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hooghly.								
Paddy	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pulses	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Potatoe	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Goor	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mustard ... } Sessamum ... }	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indigo	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hemp	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jute	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Howrah, Burdwan and 24-Pergunnahs.								
Rice	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kalái	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...
Molasses	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Paddy	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Khoolnah in Jessore.								
Coarse rice	1 0 0	0 15 0	1 1 3	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 1 0	1 12 0	2 2 0

Statement.—continued.

1859.	1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.
Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
...	...	...	...	...	...	3 5 0	4 0 0	3 5 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	2 13 0	3 5 0	3 5 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	5 0 0	4 0 0	4 0 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	2 3 0	2 14 0	2 3 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	2 8 0	3·5 0	2 14 0	.....
...	...	...	...	From 1863 to 1867.		20 to 24 Seers per Rupee			.....
...	...	...				8 to 9 to 10 kátás per Rupee			.....
...	...	...	...			Rs. 2 to 2½ to 3 per maund			.....
...	...	...	...			„ 4 to 4½ to 5 „			.....
...	...	...	...			8 to 9 kátás per Rupee			.....
...	...	...	...			From 6 to 7 to 8 to 9 bdls. per Rupee			.....
...	...	...	...			Rs. 3 to 5 per maund			.....
...	...	...	...			2½ to 3 „			.....
	From 1858 to 1865 averaging from Rs. 5 to 5-8					...	...	1½ to 2	.....
...	...	...		„ 3-8 to 4		...	...	1½ to 1¾	.....
...	...	...		„ 3-8 to 4 or 5		...	...	4 to 5	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0-12 to 1	.....
...	1 0	1 4 0	1 8 0	1 4 0	2 3 0	2 8 0	2 0 0	1 2 0	.....

Comparative

Produce.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857.	1858.
Maunbhoom.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Rice, coarse	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rice, fine	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Moog Kalái	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mash Kalái	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Arhur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Flour	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indian corn	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gram	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Midnapore.								
Paddy	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mash Kalái	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Moog Kalái	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Goor	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sugar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tobacco	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Oil seeds	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indigo	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Silk	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nuddea and Jessore.								
Coarse rice	...	...	..	1 0 0	...	...	...	1 12 0
Middling rice	..	...	...	1 8 0	...	...	...	2 4 0
Fine rice	...	...	...	1 12 0	...	...	...	2 12 0
Mustard oil	..	...	..	6 11 0	...	...	...	8 0 0
Ghee (cow's)	..	..	..	20 0 0	...	...	...	26 10 0
„ (buffalo's) ...	..	...	..	16 0 0	...	...	...	23 0 0
Moog	..	...	...	3 0 0	...	...	...	3 0 0
Kalái	...	...	...	1 4 0	...	...	...	1 8 0
Ahiri	...	...	...	2 0 0	...	...	...	1 12 0

Statement,—continued.

1859.	1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.
Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
...	...	...	...	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	3 5 4	1 7 8	1 0 0
...	...	...	...	1 4 0	1 5 4	1 5 4	6 2 5	2 11 0	1 5 4
...	...	...	...	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 10 8	4 11 3	3 0 0	2 13 6
...	...	...	...	1 2 3	1 1 8	2 0 0	3 5 0	2 9 3	2 6 8
...	...	...	...	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	4 3 8	2 13 8	1 10 8
...	...	...	...	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	11 7 4	5 2 8	5 0 0
...	...	...	...	0 8 0	0 10 0	0 10 8	3 0 0	1 1 8	1 0 0
...	...	...	...	2 8 0	2 10 8	2 13 8	5 11 8	3 11 6	2 8 0
...	...	5 coories per Re.	5½	6	6	10 mans	3 5 4	...	.....
...	...	1 12 0	1 12 0	1 2 0	2 0 0	2 8 0	3 8 0	...	.....
...	...	2 8 0	2 8 0	2 8 0	2 8 0	2 12 0	4 0 0	...	.....
...	...	3 4 0	3 0 0	4 0 0	3 4 0	4 0 0	6 0 0	...	.....
...	...	9 0 0	9 0 0	9 0 0	10 0 0	11 0 0	16 0 0	...	.....
...	...	16 0 0	16 0 0	12 0 0	6 0 0	9 0 0	8 0 0	...	.....
...	..	3 0 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	3 4 0	3 0 0	5 8 0	...	.....
...	...	250 0 0	250 0 0	250 0 0	200 0 0	225 0 0	250 0 0	...	.....
...	...	400 0 0	400 0 0	440 0 0	1,080 0 0	640 0 0	600 0 0	...	.....
...	...	2 0 0	...	...	2 2 0	...	...	1 8 0	.....
...	...	2 8 0	...	...	2 10 0	...	...	2 0 0	.....
...	...	2 14 0	...	...	3 0 0	...	...	2 8 0	.....
..	...	9 0 0	...	...	10 0 0	...	...	9 8 0	.....
...	..	32 0 0	...	...	40 0 0	...	...	25 0 0	.....
...	...	26 10 0	...	...	32 0 0	...	...	35 6 0	.....
...	...	3 4 0	...	...	3 12 0	...	...	3 12 0	.....
...	...	1 12 0	...	...	2 4 0	...	...	2 4 0	.....
...	...	2 0 0	...	...	3 0 0	...	...	2 8 0	.....

Comparative

Produce.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857.	1858.
Nuddea and Jessore,—*contd.*	Rs. A.P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Gram	...	...	...	3 0 0	...	...	...	3 4 0
Flour	...	...	...	5 0 0	...	...	...	6 0 0
Mustard Seed	...	...	...	2 12 0	...	...	...	3 4 0
Fuel per 100 mds. ...	...	...	...	12 8 0	...	...	...	13 0 0
Pubna.								
Gram	...	...	1 0 0	...	...	...	1 1 0	...
Moog	...	...	1 1 0	...	...	...	2 3 0	...
Kalái	...	...	0 12 0	...	...	...	1 4 0	...
Peas	...	...	0 7 0	...	...	...	0 13 0	...
Rice	...	...	0 14 0	...	...	...	1 2 0	...
Wheat	...	...	0 14 0	...	...	...	1 9 0	...
Mustard	...	...	2 10 0	...	...	...	2 10 0	...
Linseed	...	...	1 10 0	...	...	...	2 0 0	...
Til	...	...	1 3 0	...	...	...	2 0 0	...
Jute	...	...	1 10 0	...	...	...	2 2 0	...
Meshta	...	...	1 5 0	...	...	...	2 4 0	...
Sone (Hemp)	...	...	1 13 0	...	...	...	2 10 0	...
Pubna.								
Rice	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pulses	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Molasses	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cotton	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wheat	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tipperah.								
Paddy	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rice	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Mustard	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	..

Statement,—continued.

1859.	1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.
Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
...	...	3 12 0	...	...	4 0 0	...	...	3 0 0	.....
...	...	6 0 0	...	...	7 0 0	...	...	5 8 0	.....
...	...	3 12 0	...	...	4 0 0	...	...	3 12 0	.....
...	...	14 0 0	...	...	16 0 0	...	...	24 0 0	.....
...	...	...	...	1 14 0	...	...	...	2 0 0	.....
...	...	...	...	2 4 0	...	...	...	2 10 0	.....
...	...	...	...	1 9 0	...	...	...	2 8 0	.....
...	...	...	...	0 12 0	...	...	...	1 0 0	.....
...	...	...	...	1 8 0	...	...	...	1 4 0	.....
...	...	...	...	1 5 0	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	3 5 0	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	2 10 0	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	2 10 0	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	2 10 0	...	...	...	2 2 0	.....
...	...	...	...	2 8 0	...	...	...	2 4 0	.....
...	...	...	...	3 0 0	...	...	...	3 0 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	1 13 0	2-8 to 1-13	1-3 to 3-5	1 1 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	2-10 to 2-8	3-5 to 3	4 to 3-5	1 13 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	4 7 0	6 0 0	5 0 0	4 7 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	22 0 0	22 0 0	22 0 0	20 0 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	2 10 0	3 5 0	4 7 0	1 12 0	.....
...	..	...	..	0 8 0	0 10 0	1 0 0	1 8 0	...	....
...	...	..	..	1 4 0	1 6 0	1 8 0	3 8 0	...	....
...	..	..	...	2 0 0	2 4 0	2 10 0	2 4 0	...	....

Comparative

Produce.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857.	1858.
Tipperah,—*contd.*	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Til	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...
Khessari	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dhal ditto	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Moog	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...
Mash Kalái	...	...	...	...	...	..	..	..
Goor	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Linseed	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Chillies	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	..
Turmeric	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..
Ginger	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Potatoe	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...
Jute	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Hemp	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Safflower	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kaoon	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Coriander	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	..
Peas	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...
Tobacco	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Garlic	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	..
Onion	...	...	..	...	...	..	...	..
24-Pergunnahs Satkhirah.								
Rice	0 5 0	0 5 2	0 4 5	0 4 10	0 5 4	0 5 11	0 6 5	0 9 8

Statement,—continued.

1859.	1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.
Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
...	...	..	..	1 8 0	1 8 0	1 10 0	1 8 0	..	.....
...	...	..	..	0 12 0	0 12 0	1 0 0	1 4 0	..	.....
...	..	..	..	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 8 0	2 0 0	..	.....
...	...	..	..	1 8 0	1 12 0	2 0 0	2 4 0	..	.....
...	...	..	..	1 0 0	1 2 0	1 4 0	1 8 0	..	....
...	..	..	..	4 0 0	4 8 0	5 8 0	6 0 0	..	.....
..	..	..	..	2 8 0	2 0 0	2 8 0	2 8 0	..	.....
...	..	..	..	5 0 0	3 0 0	2 8 0	1 8 0	..	....
...	...	...	..	0 8 0	0 10 0	0 12 0	1 0 0	..	....
...	..	..	..	2 0 0	2 8 0	3 0 0	3 8 0	..	....
..	...	..	..	0 6 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	..	.....
..	..	..	..	2 0 0	1 12 0	1 2 0	1 8 0	...	....
...	..	..	..	5 0 0	3 0 0	2 8 0	4 0 0	..	....
..	..	..	..	20 0 0	18 0 0	19 0 0	20 0 0	..	....
...	..	..	..	0 6 0	0 8 0	0 12 0	1 0 0	..	.....
..	..	...	...	0 12 0	1 4 0	1 8 0	1 8 0	..	....
..	..	..	..	0 10 0	0 12 0	1 0 0	1 4 0	..	....
...	..	..	..	5 0 0	3 0 0	1 8 0	1 0 0	..	.....
...	..	..	..	1 0 0	1 8 0	3 0 0	5 0 0	..	....
..	...	..	..	0 8 0	0 6 0	0 8 0	1 0 0	..	.....
0 9 8	0 8 10	0 5 4	0 5 2	0 7 1	0 8 2	0 12 9	0 12 9	0 10 8	....

APPENDIX III.

List of the Gentlemen from whose replies to the Enquiries of the Association the foregoing paper has been compiled.

Babu Radha Charan Gangooly	...	Bancoorah.
„ Goda Dhar Bandopadhya	...	
„ Paresh Nath Mookerjee	...	Beerbhoom.
„ Rambrahmo Sircar	...	
Commissioner's Office	...	Bhaugulpore.
Babu Joykissen Mookerjee	...	Burdwan.
„ Dwarka Nath Mitter	...	Sreekistopore.
„ Radha Binod Chowdry	...	
„ Hit Lal Mise	...	
„ Rakhal Dass Mookerjee	...	Hooghly.
„ Joykissen Mookerjee	...	Howrah.
Mr. J. S. McLeod	...	Chowgatcha
Babu Shiris Chundra Ghose	...	Jessore.
Mr. W. Sheriff, Planter	...	Jenidah
Babu Prosanna Coomar Sen	...	Narail
„ Rashbehari Bose	...	Khoolnah
„ Gour Dass Bysack	...	Maunbheom.
„ Bhuban Chundra	...	Midnapore.
„ Jaggat Bullub Jana	...	
Translator, Judge's Court	...	
Babu Jodu Nath Roy	...	Kishnaghur.
„ Sarada Prosanna Mookerjee	...	Nuddea.
Mr. A. P. McDonald, C. S.	...	Monghyr.
Babu Nobin Kishna Sircar	...	Comarcolly
„ Braja Gati Banerjee	...	Pubna.
Mr. E. J. Barton, C. S.	...	Pooree.
Babu Bhagaban Chundra Bose	...	Tipperah.
„ Joykissen Mookerjee	...	Diamond Harbour
„ Deb Nath Roy Chowdry	...	24-Pergunnahs.

The PRESIDENT having, on its conclusion, invited the members, and more particularly the Native members, to express their opinion on any of the points raised in the above paper, BABU JUGGODANUND MOOKERJEE at once raised issue with the writer on the point whether the condition of the ryot be in fact so bad as it had been tried to be made out. He was strongly of opinion that it is not, and cited facts within his own experience in support of his opinion.

BABU TRANNAUTH CHATTERJEE corroborated from his personal experience the remarks made by the last speaker.

BABU SHAMA CHURN SIRCAR said that in the Nuddea district the general rate of *jumma-bundee*, or annual *jumma* assessed after measurement, is eight annas per bigha, where *áoos* paddy and also a winter crop are grown; the rent of the *ámon* paddy-land is a little more than eight annas a bigha, that of the lands capable of producing turmeric, chilli, sugarcane, vegetables and the like is not less than twelve annas per bigha, and that of the lands capable of growing betel, *pepul* or the like is from Rs. 2 to 2-8 per bigha. But when lands are cultivated in the *úthbandi* form without any lease, and the cultivation continues for three years, the rate of *áoos* paddy-lands is one rupee per bigha, of those lands which produce *parwol* is Rs. 4; sugarcane, chilli, turmeric and the like, Rs. 2; plantain and other vegetables, Rs. 1-4, and betel, *pepul* or the like, Rs. 5. If only a winter crop is grown, then the rate is six annas per bigha. If well grown, the crop of paddy yields from Rs. 10 to 12 per bigha, that of turmeric, chilli, sugarcane or the like, from Rs. 30 to 40, and *parwol* yields from Rs. 50 to 80 inclusive of all charges.

MR. C. D. FIELD remarked that information on the subject procured from unbiassed sources was most valuable; that some years ago when he tried suits for enhancement in the district of Nuddea, the ryots according to their own showing lost steadily every year by cultivating their *jotes*, while those whose interest lay on the other side exaggerated as much in that direction; it was clear that the truth lay as it always lies in the middle, but at what exact line to place it was very difficult; that information like what was now submitted to the Association was all the more valuable as being given, when no contending interests were liable to create exaggeration, mistake or misconception. In judging of the condition of the ryot however, it was scarcely sufficient to look merely at the profits per beegah for certain crops. The size of each holding, the average number of beegahs planted with rice, or capable of bearing a good cold-weather crop, the distribution of the high and the low lands among the members of the village, the proportion of land capable of bearing chillies or sugar-cane, risk of the drought or inundation, the neighbourhood of markets, were all elements and important elements of the calculation. Then again the ryot's indebtedness or freedom from debt must not be overlooked. When from a series of bad seasons or any other cause, the ryot had fallen within the mahajun's power, he did not escape easily, and the zemindar had to support the mahajun as well as the ryot; both mahajun and ryot had to be supported out of the difference between the whole profit of cultivation and that portion which found its way into the zemindar's coffers as rent. A double strain was thus put on the labour of the ryot. Further, that the tenures of land were different in different districts.

That in view of all these considerations, conclusions that would hold good for one part of the country might not be true in other parts. That on

this account too great generalization might be dangerous, and the exceptions to any general rule might be the most important part of it.

Babu Mohendra Lall Shome said—"I am not prepared with any statistical details of the subject now under discussion, but it appears from what has been read this evening that there is great misapprehension with regard to the present condition of the ryot in Bengal. It has been said that after paying his rent and his debt to the mahajun, there is hardly anything left for his own use throughout the year, and he is devoid of the barest necessaries of life from one end of it to the other. This I think is not the true picture of the present state of things in the country, whatever it might have been some years back. On the contrary, I have sure information (derived from the ryots themselves, from different zillahs) that their present mode of living is a great deal better than what it used to be previously. They have now, (I mean the great body of them, for there will be always some who are utterly destitute) all the necessaries fit for their condition, and they can always lay by something for emergencies. They have enough left in their hands to indulge in the luxury of litigation in their feuds with each other, and sometimes carry on a crusade against the zemindar or the indigo-planter. They are also enabled to furnish their wives and daughters with ornaments of silver and rarely of gold, and sometimes spend money in festivals and religious ceremonies. However, when any great and general calamity occurs, like the late famine, their savings are not enough to carry them on for any length of time. The reason is simple; the way in which these savings are invested (when they are invested and not spent in litigation and festivities) is such as to make them of very little use on such occasions of general want. I have heard from persons from Midnapore that during the late famine, they have purchased ten seers of brass utensils for a rupee, and that gold and silver also sold for one-fourth of their ordinary values. There was no body to purchase them. But these were exceptional periods. In ordinary times the moderate wants of our peasantry are easily supplied. I do not say that there is no room for improvement, and that their condition is all that can be desired, but it is not so bad as has been depicted."

Dr. Chuckerbutty thought that the increase of exports and imports showed the increase of material prosperity, and that the application of the educational test gave a similar result. Nevertheless, he did not think that the condition of the ryot was very much improved. His poverty was shown by his inability to employ improved agricultural implements, and to keep his children at school, as he wanted their aid, at an early age, to obtain the means of supporting his family. His more independent bearing than formerly was due to the increased value of labour, and not to any accession of affluence from the produce of the soil. There was a great demand for his industry on railway, irrigation, and municipal works; and this enabled him to supplement his earnings from agricultural operations. Besides, within the last few years, several exports, such as jute, cotton, &c. have become largely developed, which, as well as the extension of trade, gave him additional employment. Hence it so happened that the ryot often earned more money than his quondom superiors; and it is no wonder that he resented the assumption of superiority by persons in the position of sircars on 8 Rupees a month, merely because they thought themselves to be gentlemen, when he could himself earn by his industry Rs. 15 or 20.

Babu Chunder Nath Bose expressed his concurrence generally with the view taken by Babu Mohendro Lall Shome, and said that, in dis-

cussing the question of the condition of the Bengal ryot, it was of the utmost importance to keep the mind free from all the disturbing influence of feeling. The very fact that the Indian ryot is sometimes likened to the Spartan helot, sometimes to the worst Irish Cottier, and sometimes to the most wretched Negro slave, appeared to him to prove that the condition of the ryot is viewed more through the medium of feeling than through that of the understanding. He was, therefore, of opinion that the necessity of approaching the question of the condition of the Bengal ryot not in the impassioned manner of a sentimentalist, but in the matter of fact style of a statistician could not be too strongly insisted upon. He said that the information which the Association had received regarding the present state of agriculture in Bengal, was too meagre to afford a basis for anything like a sound or healthy discussion of the question on hand. He was fully aware of the existence of vices of the grossest character in the agricultural system of Bengal; but, said he, if his experience of the mofussil were allowed to count for anything, he could not induce himself to think that the condition of the Bengal ryot was *generally* so bad as it is usually represented to be. People in the lowest classes of agricultural life are now seen to celebrate *poojahs*, to use brazen utensils in the place of those earthen utensils which alone they could afford to purchase 8 or 10 years ago, and in many cases to use even ornaments made of silver. The general complaint about the growing insolvence of the agricultural classes and their unwillingness, amounting in some cases to aversion, to work as day labourers when required to do so by their wealthier neighbours, appeared to him proofs or indications of an agricultural life better than that which it is the fashion to ascribe to the Bengal ryot. He thought that it was extremely improper to say that the circumstances in life of the various classes of ryots, *mouroosee, mocurruree, occupancy, khodkust,* &c., were or could possibly be one and the same. In making these remarks, he did not mean to say that the condition of the ryot was a prosperous one. All that he meant was that the picture which is usually drawn of the ryot's condition is, *generally* speaking, rather an exaggerated one, and that a more correct view of that condition ought to be formed from a more accurate observation than has hitherto been made of the life and *character* of the ryot, in order that the public or any portion of it or even the very ryot himself might not one day suffer at the hands either of the Government or of any inferior power. The Association could not do better than push forward its enquiries about the present state of agriculture in Bengal. Agriculture in Bengal possesses an influence on social and individual manners and character, such as it possesses no where else.

Mr. J. Wilson thought that there was at least one admirable point in the Bengal system of agriculture, namely, the carrying out of the principle of co-operation. He went on to say that he differed from a previous speaker in thinking that the mahajun and zemindar kept the ryot. On the other hand, it appeared to him that the ryot kept the zemindar and mahajun. He thought that the middlemen should justly bear great part of the odium which was thrown on the zemindar and mahajun, because they take so much and give nothing. It was a misfortune in the discussion of this question, that the ryots were so little in a position to give information. He feared there might be some want of candour in the statements of the other party. He thought the subject was one worthy of diligent and careful investigation.

Mr. Souttar wished to say a few words on behalf of the paper which had been so much found fault with, and his friend the writer of it, who was

absent. He said that the reading of detached extracts of the paper was not, he believed, quite fair to it, and that when the members would be able to read the whole of it in print, they would find it fair to the zemindar, and by no means exclusively in the interest of the ryot. He would, however, ask them to remember that the paper was but a compilation, and that the gentlemen who had supplied the information were almost entirely zemindars. As regarded the necessity for further information, he was happy to be able to say that the Association was still receiving replies to the questions which had been circulated and was still circulating them in other quarters. It was satisfactory, he might mention, in conclusion to know that various Government officers and Government itself were now paying great attention to this particular department of statistics. He was personally aware that a very valuable series of agricultural statistics was being compiled in the Presidency Division, a copy of which the Commissioner of the Division had been kind enough to promise the Association on completion, and he had also seen that the Board of Revenue, in a recent Circular, had forwarded the orders of Government, impressing upon subordinate officers the importance of supplying full and accurate statistics in the elaborate returns which have been called for. He believed that the present paper was but an introduction to what would yet be a very complete treatment of the subject.

The President, in concluding the discussion, remarked, it was a matter of regret that all the speakers had confined their attention to one point only, namely, the status of the ryots, to the exclusion of the many broad questions suggested by the returns. Passing by the enquiry, whether or not the ryot was able to live in the state of rural luxury, which had been depicted, he thought, two important points relative to the agricultural economy of this country were prominent on the face of these papers. In the first place it was clear that the holdings of the occupants of the soil averaged some 10 to 15 beegahs, and even if the cultivator were not a pauper, he possessed no capital beyond that which was barely necessary for tilling the ground; and, secondly, the beneficial interest in the land, *viz.*, the perception of the rents and profits, instead of residing in a single person, belonged to a most complex body, possessing, he might say, both vertical and lateral extension. As an instance of what he meant, he described what was commonly to be found in the district of Backergunge. He might say, there were generally four or five intermediate holders of tenures, subordinate the one to the other, between the cultivator on the one hand, and the Government on the other. He would mention the putneedar, the durputneedar, the howladar, nimhowladar, ausathowladar, nimausathowladar, and so on. The Native gentlemen present, would, he was sure, confirm him in this statement, and, probably, in any given case, not one of these tenureholders was a single individual, not even was he so simple in form as a joint family. Strangers constituted a common ingredient in this complex entity; not introduced by the voluntary action of the original members of the family coparcenary, but coming in hostilely as purchasers of undivided shares at sales held in execution of decrees against individual shareholders. It was often almost startling to see the number of incongruous parties themselves not all single but sometimes entering by groups, who went to make up the owner of a putnee, or howla, &c., each party being entitled to a fractional undivided share of the whole tenure, and to assert his rights of whatever kind thereto, without joinder of the others. He despaired of giving by words any faithful picture of the reality; and how could it be expected that a recipient of rent, constructed as was the body which he had attempted to outline, should ever

discharge a landlord's duties. The landlord's part in the economy of agriculture required definiteness of purpose and ready capital for its proper fulfilment. How little it was approached, or thought of one need go but a short distance out of Calcutta to perceive. No roads were to be found. Almost no means at all existed for transporting the produce of the soil from its place of growth to the centres of distribution, except the primitive mode of conveyance on the top of coolies' heads. Here or there a way of some six or eight *haths* wide existed as a precious subject of litigation, but that even was only cutcha, and a "boil ghari," was the highest form of vehicle which could struggle along over its sloughs and ruts. Again, bunds and irrigation were necessities to the agriculture of this country. What had been, or was being done in this direction? But, without going further into detail at that hour, he would content himself with saying that to him the existing state of things appeared scarcely elevated above the lowest round of the ladder of advancement. At the same time he believed it well nigh impossible that material improvement should be effected throughout the length and breadth of the land at the hands of the proprietors of the rents and profits under the present system. Individuals undoubtedly stood out as illustrious exceptions to the general rule. But as long as the middle tenures, with minute sub-division of interest among the members of their respective proprietary bodies largely prevailed, it was simply impossible that from this source the requisite energy, capital and purpose should ordinarily be supplied. The same state of things gave rise to serious difficulties and obstructions to advance on another side. It was necessary for the proper development of the resources of the country, that the Government should carry out certain public objects, such as education, and discharge some municipal functions by the aid of funds locally raised. For this purpose the soil must be had recourse to. How is this to be done? If the tax is placed on the land itself will not the whole burden fall, in fact, upon the ryot in his poverty? How can you effectually protect him, and enable him to reimburse himself from above? And if on the other hand you tax the person whose name is in the Collector's books as answerable for thee rvenue, the chances are that he is but a representative of a large class, and how is he to be furnished with the means of obtaining contribution from both co-ordinate and subordinate holders. The Government had long hesitated in the face of these difficulties, but it would probably soon feel itself obliged to overcome them. The knot would have to be cut if it could not be effectively untied. Finally the President expressed his belief that there could be little real progress until the tenure of land interests was reduced to simplicity, and the agricultural proprietors had shaken themselves free of the fetters with which their social habits and customs bound them.

6.—*Peeps into Social Life in Calcutta a Century ago.*

By the Revd. J. Long.

[Read on the 24th July 1868.]

The study of an antiquarian subject, bearing on the *social* life of the past, is interesting, not only as a branch of valuable knowledge, but also as tending to draw off the mind from too much attention to the petty interests of the present and from many trifling carking cares. We feel invigorated and refreshed after an hour spent in communing with the olden time, and enter with more energy on the battle of life.

To those who are dissatisfied with the existing social state, the study of the past of Calcutta is calculated to yield comfort, by showing what reason we have to be thankful that our lives are cast upon better days, and that we have so many advantages of a social nature above our predecessors of last century.

We call this paper *Peeps* into Calcutta Society, for, alas! time has swept so much of the past both of men and books into oblivion, that only a few floating fragments can be found, and especially on our subject, which relates mainly to the period immediately previous and subsequent to the battle of Plassey,—when there was no newspaper to record the passing events of the day,—no printing press,—no Calcutta correspondent to the English press;—while letters were few and far between, a year and a half being allowed for the despatch and answer to a letter. The earthquake and inundation of 1737 in Calcutta destroyed many documents, and the capture of the city in 1756 completed the destruction.

No more valuable contribution could be made to social science and to history than a memoir of the rise and social progress of Calcutta, both European and Native. The Government Records in the India House in London, amounting to 100,000 volumes, open out a rich store-house in this respect to the future historian of Calcutta; a city, which, like St. Petersburgh, sprang out of a swamp, is surely one of the most interesting subjects for enquiry. We trust that ere long some one may bring out the Life and Times of Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta, whose remains lie in St. John's Burial Ground, in a splendid Mausoleum, the oldest piece of masonry in Calcutta; beside him is interred his Hindu wife whom he rescued

as a widow from the funeral pyre, at whose tomb he was said to have sacrificed a cock annually.

People complain now of Calcutta as being dull, of there being little recreation: what would they have said a century ago, when a few hours a day sufficed for the business in hand, which was chiefly commercial, and mainly transacted at the time the ships from Europe arrived in the river, and when they were departing. The Portuguese Kerani did the writing part, and that in so slovenly a fashion as to call down the censure of the Court of Directors. There was little letter writing, as the first post between Calcutta and Allahabad was not established until 1763. The first Newspaper, *Hickey's Gazette*, appeared in 1780, and news came only in the season of the ships, the cold weather, some nine months old, except when a chance vessel arrived from Bussora in the Persian Gulf, conveying intelligence by way of Aleppo and the Mediterranean.* Hence there was little correspondence. There was little music, for there were only some two dozen European ladies in Calcutta, and the Court of Directors seem to have thought even that number more than sufficient; a despatch arrived in Calcutta about that period, giving orders that when a Miss Campbell, who had left for Calcutta without a pass, landed there, she should be forthwith sent back to England; and in another case three ladies, who had applied to the Court for a license to go to Calcutta, were distinctly refused, on the ground that there were ladies enough in the place. Further there were few instruments for ladies to play on; artists were not then skilled in adapting them to the climate; pianos in hot weather with open doors soon cracked and warped; or met the fate of an organ which in 1751, was sent out for the Calcutta Church, but on being opened it fell to pieces, all the wood-work having been eaten up by white ants. Europeans however went to nautches, which were then popular. As for dinner parties or *soirees*, what was the comfort of being crowded in a place of smoking dishes without punkahs, for punkahs were not then known.

There were no carriage drives; no course with a view of the muddy Hooghly's stream and a change of dust. What was the use of carriages without European carriage-builders or repairers? Natives could not then repair carriages. Even now, after a century has passed away, not a single good Native carriage-builder has set up in Calcutta—the fact deserves enquiry as revealing a very unsatisfactory state of things among this native working class. Even had there been European coach-builders, what springs could have stood roads

* As late as 1811, Sir J. Mackintosh writes from Bombay:—"We are now seven months from the date of the last London news."

knee-deep in mud, with lepers, naked fakeers, Brahmini bulls, camels, elephants, &c., besetting the thoroughfares, for as late as Daniel's time, 1780, elephants and camels were allowed to traverse the streets of Calcutta, as is shewn in his pictures which give us admirable sketches of the olden time, particularly of Calcutta. Men riding in carriages seemed from the jolting to be affected with St. Vitus, dance, while taking an airing was represented as taking a dusting or jolting. Before the battle of Plassey the Governor and senior member of Council only used a carriage.

Riding was dangerous beyond the bounds* of Calcutta, which were infested with wild animals, the boar and the tiger, (pig-sticking was however a favorite amusement,) while the fierce Mahratta, like the Italian Brigand, hung around, watching for his prey. He often carried men off, tied to the tail of his horse.

How heavily did the day pass and how wearisome! A few hours sufficed for business, from 9 to 12 in an ordinary way; the hukah and a hasty breakfast, brought men to the middle of the day. The dinner hour was about 2 o'clock; after dinner, and the smoking from a highly ornamented silver hukah which had a special servant for it, the invariable siesta followed, when all, both ladies and gentlemen, undressed and went to bed. Undressing was necessary, for there were no punkhas and no glass windows, only ones made from twisted cane. Two hours of sleep (all Calcutta from 3 to 5 being as still as the grave) and people were up again, some to fishing or walking in the Park, now Dalhousie Square; (Tank Square, with its grove on the east side, was the Belgravia or Hyde Park of that day;) some had an occasional pig-sticking match or tiger hunt in the jungle of Chowringhi plain; some took the air in a palki; a favorite recreation, however, was boating in a handsome budgerow with a band of music in attendance. Various gentlemen kept sailing boats, and the exercise the jungly land denied them was afforded by the water; there were few ships to interrupt their course; and many a pleasant sailing excursion was made between Thannah fort, near the Botanic Gardens, and the Dutch Settlement of Baranagur. Returning home, tea and cards filled up

* The bounds of Calcutta in 1757 were, to the south, the Creek which ran from the site of the Bank of Bengal and Chandpal Ghat across Chowringhi Road to the Salt Water Lake; to the east, the Lal Bazar and Chitpore Road; the Barabazar to the north; and the river to the west; all beyond was called the Continent, probably because with Creek Row, the river and Mahratta Ditch, Calcutta formed an island. When purchased as a Zemindary in 1698, it was only 1½ miles square. Calcutta was then known as a Settlement; it was subsequently its inhabitants got the sobriquet of Ditchers—when?

the time until 10 o'clock, the supper hour. There was one good practice, they paid visits in the evening, when men were not imprisoned in black coats, for white jackets were the rule which continued even beyond the Marquis of Wellesley's time; visits were short, and half a dozen could be made in one evening—except on theatre night, for Calcutta had its theatre, which was situated to the north east end of the Writer's Buildings. The Church stood at the west end.

Late parties could be easily kept up, as the Company's servants had little to do, besides providing the annual investment, and, except in trade which they carried on on their own account, the rest was *vive la bagatelle.* Stavorinus, a Dutch traveller, in 1769, writes :— "The Company's servants devote a part of the morning to attending upon their business; they spend the remainder of their time either in revels or sleep." He himself was entertained by the Governor of Bengal at a dinner party at 1 o'clock in the day. Even as late as Lord Cornwallis' time public dinners were given at 3, then a ball at 8, and supper at 12.

How dull the conversation must have been without mails, news 9 months old, except when it came by Bussorah. Doubtless it turned on the interlopers, the adventurers, the Nawab's Agents, the Mahrattas, the *Gomastas,* our dangerous neighbours the Dutch and French, High Church and Low Church, the Papists and hurricanes, and the last importation of young ladies on spec. This dull state was relieved occasionally by the irritation of prickly heat, and of musquito bites, when people covered their legs with paste-board to save themselves from the stings. Sir J. Shore writes in 1775 :— "Dancing, riding, hunting, and shooting are now our employments"; copying work was left to keranis, and the European was practically often merely an expensive instrument for signing his name.

Gambling was in vogue with a zeal equalling that of a Russian nobleman's penchant; the Marquis Cornwallis gave that and other evils a deadly blow. Immense sums were won and lost at Billiards.

Horse-racing, attended by the wealth and fashion of Calcutta, was popular, but the first ground was in the Chowringhi paddy fields; subsequently at Akra farm, or *bárud kháná,* below Garden Reach.

Duelling, arising often out of quarrels regarding ladies of sooty complexion, occasionally gave a little excitement. The last Cyclone has levelled the famous duelling tree, which, according to

popular tradition was on the Chowringhee plain, where Hastings and Francis fought. Francis, who ought to know, places it near Belvidere.

Drinking helped to pass away the time, the practice of drinking mulled wine early in the morning was common in the Bombay Presidency; in Calcutta we believe it was arrack-punch, which was then what pegs are now; men would finish a chest of claret at a sitting; subsequently the taste for claret and madeira went out, and one person would drink a dozen of beer in the course of the day. Hence we need not wonder that it was said of some of the residents, their lives were not worth two monsoons,—a short life and a merry one.

Boating was a favorite amusement; bands of music were taken in fine budgerows, and excursion parties were made as far as Chandernagore or Chinsura, where fancy-balls used occasionally to be given by the French and Dutch.

Subscription balls were kept up; we find that in 1781 the Stewards of a Subscription Assembly refused to pass a charge of 1,997 Rs. for the entertainment of 200 persons.

Let us now take a ramble through the Calcutta of 1750. Suppose some one had undertaken a morning walk a century ago from the site of our President's house in Ballygunge to Calcutta, it would have been a most perilous enterprise, a heavy mist from the woods hanging over the country, dense as that now to be seen in the interior of the Sunderbunds, along a narrow footpath approaching very close to the lair of the tiger and leopard. The pedestrian would pass over the ground where some of the Nawab's troops were encamped when he came to attack Calcutta in 1756, by a path leading to the site of the Martiniere, but there was no crossing as the Mahratta Ditch, dug in 1742 by the inhabitants of Calcutta at their own expense, to keep off the Cossacks of that day, the Mahrattas,* went round Calcutta from the site of the Martiniere to Bag Bazar and barred the passage. This ditch, at first deep and broad, subsequently became a fetid and putrid pit, the receptacle of dead cats and dogs, until the Marquis of Wellesley had it filled up and the present

* The Mahratta empire originated in a movement of the Hindus to throw off the Mogul yoke. When the Bengal Nawabs could not remit their revenue to Delhi, they allowed the Mahrattas to collect by force the *Chaut* or fourth part. Bhaskar Pandit, in consequence, at the head of 80,000 horse invaded Bengal, aided by the Rajas of Birbhum and Bisenpur offended at their treatment by Ali Verdy Khan, hence it was quite time to fortify Calcutta. In 1743, the Mahrattas held Birbhum and all the country west of the Hugly from Balasore to Thannah's Fort, Calcutta.

Circular Road made on its site.* Amid great difficulties the way is threaded in slush under an avenue of trees as far as Boitakhana, where the pedestrian could rest for a while under the shade of that broad tree which afforded shelter to the Patriarch of Calcutta—Job Charnock, where like a genuine Qui Hye he is said to have smoked his pipe, and, struck with the rural beauty of the scene, selected Calcutta as the seat of the English in Bengal.† This tree was cut down in 1799 to make the present Circular Road; it was the *rendezvous* of native merchants from the east, where they met to go from Calcutta or to start for the town, the neighbouring jungle being infested with dakaits. The question has been often asked, why was Calcutta not placed on the right bank of the Hooghly, which the French, Danes, and Dutch found to be more healthy. The main reasons we believe to have been: The left bank had deeper water, the weavers who supplied the Company with piece goods lived chiefly there, and it was not so exposed to the raids of the Mahrattas as the Howrah side.

We next pass down Bow-Bazar, then solitary; the Boitakanna Church and Madrassa were among its first buildings, but not until about 1780. *Lal* Bazar is arrived at. Why was it called *Lal* or red? Tank Square is called Laldigi, was it from the Old Church which was called Lal Girja, because it was built of bricks which were not covered with a layer of white-wash, but appeared flashing red. *Lal* Bazar was then rather a fashionable place; the Apollo Tavern, the Wilson's of that day, was in it, so was the Harmonicon Hotel, and doubtless, the sailors of Calcutta frequented the spot, known even in those days for their drunken broils, but they were

* In 1799 this road was made; it is thus described in a newspaper in 1802: "In the Circular Road the young and the sprightly, in the fragrance of morning wafted in the chariot of health, enjoy the gales of recreation."

† As to the reason for settling in Calcutta, we give the following account from what is now a very rare book, Gladwin's Bengal: "The English factory at Hugly having sunk with a noise into the river in the middle of the day while the English were at dinner; a few lives were lost and the rest escaped with difficulty, but their merchandise and property of every description entirely perished; hence Governor Charnock looked out for another place, he chose another one near it, erected a factory and fortified it; but the native merchants complained that their women were overlooked from the English houses, some of which were two stories high. The natives repaired to Murshidabad to complain, and orders came to prohibit finishing the Factory; the workmen hearing this refused to work; on this, Charnock setting fire to all the houses on this side the river embarked in a ship, the Foujdar sent orders to the Thannadar at Mukwah Thannah (near Calcutta) to seize the ship; he ran an iron chain across the river, provided some time before, to impede the incursions of the pirates of Arrakan and the Mugs who used to infest the river, but the chain was broken by the English. The Ships having provided Alumgir's Camp with corn in a time of scarcity, the Mogul became favorable to Charnock, and permitted him to erect the Calcutta Factory."

not numerous, as the greater part had to remain with the ships which only came up to Diamond Harbour. The next spot is the Tyburn of Calcutta the crossing of Lal Bazar, at which stood the Great Jail where, down to the beginning of this century, executions used to take place. A case is on record of a man having been hung there in 1802 for stealing a watch. This Jail was not a strong one, as we have an account, a century ago, of a body of French prisoners making their escape from it. The road to the south leads by Cossitolla, (now strangely metamorphosed into Bentinck Street) so called from the *kassais* or butchers, who made it their head quarters; in that day, no single joint of meat could be had in Calcutta, the entire animal had to be bought, and the tables groaned under hecatombs of mutton or beef, while the shoemaker would be in attendance on the butcher to get the skin tanned, and provide the material for a pair of shoes—which were then, as now, very *kutcha* affairs.

The east side of Cossitolla was jungly; you cross Creek Row, which ran from the river near the site of the Bank of Bengal down to the north side of Dhurumtola into the Salt Water Lakes, which were then close to Calcutta, wafting their pestiferous vapours, nearly as bad as those which *may* come when the drainage scheme shall be completed. There was no Dhurumtola then; even down to 1780 there were only straw huts in it. You pass along the Chowringhee road, surrounded with dense jungle on both sides. Chowringhee then was out of town and in the woods; the chief use of the Chowringhee road was in leading to the shrine of Kalighat, which was the temple of Calcutta, and probably gave its name to the city. The temple of Kalighat stood for centuries, when the Ganges itself, some miles wide, laved its walls, when human blood streamed on its altars, and when Thugs, before proceeding on their murderous expeditions, made their devoirs to Kali. There is, south of the Jail, a small temple of Siva which is several centuries old; the river Ganges, then a mighty stream, once flowed up to its steps.

We return now to Lal Bazar, and proceed north along the Chitpur road leading to the famous temple of Chiteswari. On the west side of the road was the then fashionable part of Calcutta, occupied by English, Armenians, Portuguese, extending over what are now the China and Bara Bazars down to the site of the Mint. Here the Armenian millionaires lived, who, acting differently from the English, did not intermeddle in country politics, but devoted themselves entirely to trade, and realised large sums.

Sobha Bazar was then a jungle, though when Nabakissen, Clive's Munshi, settled there after the battle of Plassey, it rose rapidly in buildings and population. Mention is made of it in 1780 as frequented by sailors, and of a great fire having occurred there, when Jack was very active in rescuing native's property from the flames.

Places like Sobha Bazar, Pathureaghata, now so densely peopled, were little known before the battle of Plassey which raised Calcutta from a Settlement to a City, and helped to make it a City of Palaces in front,—but of pigstyes in the rear. Raja Radhakant Deb's, the Thakur family, and various others had to leave Gobindpur when Fort William was built on its site. They settled in Pathureaghata, and Sobha Bazar. We pass a very old Hindu temple in the Chitpur road, built about 1730 by Gobindram Mittre, famous for its high cupola; we come then to an opening that led to Dum-Dum, getting into note in those days, as we find Civilians used to go to Baraset for change of air. Lord Clive had the first house there. We next arrive at Perrin's Point near Perrin's Gardens, once a place of recreation for Civil Servants, pass close to the Mahratta Ditch, which extended from the river to Panchkuti; near it were the celebrated gardens of those days, Gobindo Mittre's and Omichand's, both Bengali millionaires, and very clever men of business. The road led on to Chitpur, to the Nawab's gardens and terminated at Baranagar, a Dutch Settlement, gay and crowded in those days, when Dutch fleets rode in front, and Dutch *fraus* sported themselves in all the colors of the rainbow.

The following is a sketch given of Calcutta in 1717 :—"Calcutta in A. D. 1717, was then a village appertaining to the district of Nuddea, the houses of which were scattered in clusters of ten or twelve each, and the inhabitants chiefly husbandmen. A forest existed to the south of Chundpaul Ghat, which was afterwards removed by degrees. Between Khidderpore and the forest were two villages, whose inhabitants were invited to settle in Calcutta by the ancient family of the Seths, who were at that time merchants of great note, and very instrumental in bringing Calcutta into the form of a town. Fort William and the Esplanade are the site where the forest and the two villages above mentioned stood. In 1717 there was a straggling village, consisting of small houses, surrounded by puddles of water, where now stand the elegant houses of Chowringhee; and though Calcutta may at this period be described as extending to Chitpur bridge, the intervening space consisted of ground covered with jungle."

Let us now take another survey of Calcutta from the roof of the Governor's House, a fine building south of the Old Fort; the President's House and Grounds stretched from the site of the Metcalfe Hall to Tank Square. Due East of us is Tank Square, called the Park, the tank in which seems to have been coeval with Calcutta, though it must have been cleared out to build in it a flight of steps to the bottom, which is 60 feet from the top of its banks. On the north-western side of Tank-Square stood the church, erected in 1715, chiefly through the contributions of sea-faring men, and merchants; the steeple fell down in the earthquake of 1737, when a hurricane took place that rolled the Ganges many feet over its bed, much higher than in 1865. This church was pulled down by the Mahommedans in 1756. It was the custom of the Governor to walk to this church, one reason for which was the Court informing him, in 1728, that if he wanted a chaise and pair he must pay for them himself. To the north of it was the Armenian church, erected at the expense of an Armenian merchant in 1724, which was plundered, but not pulled down in 1756, the Armenians standing well with the native powers on account of their abstinence from politics. East of that was the Old Court House erected by Mr. Bouchier * in 1726 for accommodating the Mayor and Aldermen as a Sessions house; subsequently rooms were added to it which made it a kind of Town Hall. Calcutta then had a Municipality, the Mayor was elected by the Government every December, but it had nothing to do with drains; however "as early as 1749, the Government ordered the drains to be re-surveyed to make the settlement sweet and wholesome."

We shall finish our ramble with the river. What a gloomy scene the river below Chandpal Ghat presented! Opposite were the dreary jungly shores of Howra tenanted chiefly by wild animals. A line of mud banks, reeking with malaria, corpses, in all stages of decomposition, floating up and down the stream by the dozen, jungle lining the shore, the abode of the snake and the alligator. Where Chandpal Ghat now rises were to be seen the Sati fires, the *ághori* eating dead men's flesh, and women carrying away, as holy, the water in which a Brahmin's feet had been washed. In another quarter a Brahmin might have been seen sitting Dharna.

Now as to a question of our day—Sanitation. The sanitary condition of the English in Calcutta was in one respect better than now; the Europeans lived in garden houses close to the river, and enjoyed its refreshing health-bearing breezes, while there was no

* A rich merchant, who subsequently became Governor of Bombay. He gave it to Government on condition they paid 4,000 rupees annually to support a charity school.

dense native population behind. All the Europeans grouped as near as they could under the sheltering protection of the fort, in case of Mahratta or Mogul invasion, so that the river easily carried off the drainage of Calcutta. There was no epidemic cholera then to decimate the people, though there was an endemic cholera called *le mort de chien;* but, on the other hand, Calcutta was surrounded by deadly undrained swamps reeking with malaria, the abode of the alligator, wild boar and tiger, the Sunderbunds being within a couple of miles at the east. It is not long since an old gentleman, Mr. Blacquiere, died, who shot wild fowl in the swamps near Tank Square. Even as late as the days of Warren Hastings, when he sought the sheltering shades of Belvidere, the Chowringhee plain was so jungly and swampy that he had sometimes to proceed by water to Shurman's Bridge* at Kidderpore, up the Gobindpur Creek which subsequently became Tolly's Nulla, but was then part of the old bed of the Ganges, which, washing the steps of the old temple south of the Great Jail, proceeded down by Kalighat, wafting malaria and fever in its channel.

No wonder malaria was rife. There were few fresh vegetables, no potatoes were grown, and people were imprudent. The dead bodies, not only of beasts, but of human beings, were to be seen at times lying in the streets, in a putrid state, under a blazing sun. In 1780 it is reported the Surgeon of an Indiaman expired in the street after eating a hearty dinner of beef, the thermometer being at 98°.

But though exempt from cholera, the pestilence that smiteth in darkness, it may be inferred from the jungle around, that Calcutta was a second Cayenne or Batavia; a putrid fever desolated the land, which covered the body with blotches of a livid colour, causing death in a few hours. Even when I came to the country, 28 years ago, it seemed to have been an understood thing that every new arrival must have his seasoning fever.†

The earliest notice we have of the sanitary state of Calcutta, the New Orleans of that day, is in the travels of Captain Hamilton,

---

* Shurman, an Armenian, was sent in 1715 on an embassy to the King of Delhi.

† Calcutta is thus described in an old poem by Atkinson:

"Embowering jungle and noxious fen,
"Fatal to many a bold aspiring wight:
"On every side tall trees shut out the sight,
"And like the upas noisome vapors shed;
"Day blazed with heat intense and dusky night
"Brought damps excessive, and a feverish bed;
"The revellers at eve were in the morning dead."

about 1690, who describes an hospital into which many patients went, but few came out alive to give an account of their treatment,—dead dogs tell no tales. On an average about one-third of the crew of a ship perished from disease arising from exposure and arrack. One good indicator of the mortality was the immense sums of money that undertakers made; the rainy season was their harvest time, when, in some years, only one-fourth of the European population survived, and when a large dinner party used to be given on the 15th of October, for the survivors to congratulate each other on their being alive. Hamilton mentions that in 1700 there were 1,200 English in Calcutta, but the following January 460 were buried.* Calcutta had two Doctors, on the salaries of £25 a year each, but then they, like others, had a percentage on various articles, not excepting their share in the Madeira. As affecting the sanitary condition, there was not much to be said for the Doctors of that day, though there were some first rate men. A squib in a Calcutta paper in 1780 thus describes them:—

> But consider the cause sure, t'will give one the grip man,
> To see dubbed a Doctor, a special good Midshipman,
> Who handles your pulse, as he 'd handle a rope,
> And conceives your complaint just as clear as the Pope,
> Some Doctors in India would make Plato smile,
> If you fracture your skull, they pronounce it the bile,
> And with terrific Phiz, and a stare most sagacious,
> Give a horse ball of Jalap and pills saponaceous.

In 1805, Lord Valentia writes of the improved salubrity of Calcutta, which he attributes to the filling up of tanks, the clearing away of jungle, better constructed houses, and more temperance.

In 1793, Dr. Leskard opened baths at 37 China Bazar, price one rupee a bath; they did not pay. As regards the want of swimming and vapor baths, Calcutta is as bad as Rome itself: though Rome has not the three hundred stenches of Calcutta.

It is not surprising that Calcutta had a bad reputation in England, on account of its liver-decayed old Indian, with his parchment face—Indian Nawabs as they were called. But was not a certain amount of the ill-health of Calcutta owing to the irregular lives of Europeans? The common class used to drink the new arrack and then walk in the streets under a blazing sun—many met their deaths there.

* The proportion may be correct of deaths to residents, but we rather doubt whether there were 1,200 *Europeans* unless Portuguese and Armenians were included under that head; in 1756 there were only 70 houses in Calcutta belonging to the English, though Holwell calculated there were 400,000 people in 1750 in Calcutta.

Though stagnation of mind is unfavorable to health and though Calcutta had little news, it had its panics then, not from an enemy distant like the Sikhs in the Punjab, or the mutineers in the North-West, but from an enemy much nearer home,—the French. At that period the belief was firmly rooted in Englishmen's minds, that the French were natural enemies; that a Frenchman should only be met at the point of the sword. This foolish and anti-christian feeling followed both parties to India, and as the Dutch and Portuguese fought until the latter were driven out, so was it with the French and English: the English knew that the Nawab loved neither, but he did not wish for the expulsion of the French, wishing to keep them as a check on the English. The French had then a powerful fleet at sea, one broadside from which, if it had come up the river, would have laid Fort William, with its honey-combed guns and short supply of powder, in ruins, while at Chandernagore, the French had a fort much stronger than Fort William, manned by men greater in number and better equipped than the English, the latter attending so little to measures of defence as to have some of the embrasures of Fort William stuffed with cotton bags. We may conceive the state of alarm then, when any day might see a French fleet in the river to sweep the English out of Bengal, when French cruisers infested the mouth of the Hooghly, and Pilot Schooners were captured by them in Balasore Roads.

Not only the French, but also the Mahrattas were the source of alarm. As late as 1780, there was great excitement in Calcutta in consequence of 40,000 Mahrattas being at Cuttack; happily fluxes and fever rapidly reduced their numbers, but they came to the neighbourhood of Howrah. Mention is made of a Mrs. Bower, who died about 1780, who had by industry accumulated wealth, but she was so apprehensive of Calcutta being again taken, that in her last illness she used to start up in her bed, calling out to her servant that the French and Mahrattas were breaking into her house to carry away her money. She had escaped when the Fort was taken in 1756 having hid herself in a warehouse, and fled at night by a boat. No wonder she thought of the cruelties of the Mahrattas, who did not scruple to cut off the hands, noses, and ears of those they took prisoners and have been known even to cut off the breasts of women.

Not only was alarm from the French*; the Mugs were in the Sunderbunds devastating and plundering, and they came close

* The East Indians were subsequently a subject of serious apprehension to parties, who feared that they might, one day like the American colonists, rebel against the English. Even Lord Valentine, as late as 1803, entertained those fears.

to Calcutta. As early as 1717, they carried off 1,700 men, women and children from the Sunderbunds, and sold them as slaves in Arrakan at the rate of from 20 to 70 Rupees a head. Hence three-fourths of the inhabitants of Arrakan were of Sunderbund origin. In 1760, the neighbourhood of Budge Budge and Akra was infested with slave ships belonging to the Portuguese and Mugs. The alarm continued down to 1770, when a chain was run across the river at Mukwa Thanna fort (near the Botanical Garden) to protect the port of Calcutta against those parties. The Mahrattas were hovering round; they took possession of Thanna fort on the site of which Dr. Anderson's house in the Botanical Garden now stands. There are old people in Uttarparah who have heard from their ancestors how the women had to hide themselves in tanks, with *kulsis* over their heads, to escape the Mahratta horse. I have seen old houses in Burdwan built with under-ground cellars to hide their valuables from the Mahratta plunderer. *Bargi hangam* is a well known Bengali proverb, recalling the terror of those days.

Now, as to the important question of the state of *Morals* in Calcutta, it was low among all classes; but the same might have been said of England itself. Enormous fortunes were made by no creditable means, though they were not then adepts in commercial gambling,—there was no joint stockery. The first Engineer of Fort William, Boyer, cheated Government out of 20 lacs, and then entered the service of the Dutch East India Company. *Quarrels*, as in all colonies, were rife, justifying the remark of Voltaire: "to relate the various dissensions of the Europeans in India would make a larger work than the Encyclopædia." As in small communities, gossip abounded and quarrels were the result. Mrs. Fay, about 1770, in her "Letters," describes "ladies' quarrelling on shipboard so as to have left scarcely an entire cap." These disputes were continued on shore, and were naturally shared in by their husbands. Quarrelling gave excitement in dull times; the same still exists occasionally now with passengers round the Cape. There were many quarrels in Council and out of it; the great public quarrel about 1760 was that of Bolst, who published a large quarto volume full of his complaints; he could not, however, have been a great personal sufferer, for he came out to Calcutta in 1759, remained there eight years, and made 9 lacs of Rupees. His aim was to upset the Company's monopoly; had he then succeeded in this object, native improvement, as well as civilisation, would have been thrown back, and India would, as now, be flooded with vagrants and penniless adventurers, lessening British prestige and damaging the Christian name.

Slavery was in vogue: such advertisements as the following appear in the Newspapers: "To be sold two French Hornmen, who dress hairs, shave, and wait at table." "To be sold a fine Caffre boy that understands the business of Butler, Kidmutgar and cooking. Price four hundred Sicca Rupees" . "Eloped from the service of his Mistress a slave boy aged twenty years, pretty white or colour of musky. It is requested that after this publication no one will employ him as a writer or in any other capacity." Slavery was an institution of long standing in India; it was greatly encouraged by the Mahomedans; the Dutch were staunch advocates for it, and the Portuguese recruited their ranks chiefly from slave boys whom they carried off in their man-stealing raids in Bengal, but Bengal slaves were treated much better than those in the West Indies or America.

A satirical catechism in *Hickey's Gazette*, published in 1780, seems to hit at the minor morals of the day in Calcutta thus:—

What is commerce?
Gambling.
What is the most cardinal virtue?
Riches.
What's the Amor Patriæ?
Amor Sui.
What is fraud?
Detection.
What is beauty?
Paint.
What is punctuality?
An observance of the appointments of duelling and intriguing.
What is gentility?
Extravagance.
What are public taxes?
Pack saddles.
Who are the people? Nobody.

The papers of that day refer to swarms of French cooks, French doctors, dancing masters, priests, fiddlers, tooth-drawers, frizeurs and toad-eaters infesting Calcutta.

Lawyers are referred to as being so poorly off as to be compelled to disband their zenanas. It is a fact that, down to the early part of this century, zenanas were built in almost every European compound, while concubinage was defended in public and in the

press* Lawyers were not in much odour. The authorities were frequently in collision with them, as they would have everything done agreeable to the statutes; and, like mercantile men, they were under a kind of ban as being out of the service.

A Calcutta paper gives the following epitaph on one.

God works wonders now and then,
Here lies a lawyer and an honest man.

Answered.

This is a mere law quibble, not a wonder,
Here lies a lawyer and his client under.

"The attornies of Calcutta may be said to be to lawyers what apothecaries are to physicians, only that they do not deal in *scruples.*"

Lotteries were the order of the day: large houses fetching 1,000 Rs. monthly rent were sold by lottery tickets of 600 Rs. each; also garden houses, a Howrah house is put up to lottery, "situate on the bank of the river where the bore has no effect." The Harmonic house, a celebrated Tavern, was put up to auction by lottery in 1780, and won by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Hyde. A garden house in Entally was raffled in 1781 for 6,000 Rupees, prize tickets 75 Rs. each. Some of the best roads in Calcutta were subsequently made by the sale of lottery tickets.

Luxury, wealth and idleness produced the natural results. There is, however, another side to the shield. Old Calcutta was noted for its princely *hospitality*,—"every house was a temple dedicated to hospitality"; a guest was a blessing in the stagnant life of the Ditch; rents were cheap; a whole sheep cost but two rupees; hence it is not surprising there were few hotels; one of the first was in 1780 kept by Sir E. Impey's late steward. In the advertisement, it is stated, "turtles dressed, gentlemen boarded and families supplied with pastry." Mr. Rushton at the same time opened for *gentlemen*

* We know not when that phrase was introduced by spinster husband-hunters respecting young civilians "worth £300 a year dead or alive;" but it was practised at an early period last century, and the press teemed with comments on it. India was a marriage mart, and fancy articles auctioned off fetched a very high price.

A satirical poem in 1813, called the "Anglo-Indian," thus describes some of the ladies imported:

Pale faded stuffs, by time grown faint
Will brighten up through art;
A Britain gives their faces paint,
For sale at India's mart.

Marriages must have been expensive affairs, when a chaplain's fee was 16 or 20 Gold Mohurs; in fact, physic, law and divinity in those days yielded a mine of wealth.

a tavern in RADHABAZAR. Few gentlemen now would like to live in Radhabazar!

Calcutta was equally famed for its liberal *subscriptions*—Mrs. Kindersley, in her travels 1760-68, observes: "There is no part of the world where people part with their money to assist each other so freely as the English in India." The Anglo-Indians have ever maintained that character.

With regard to the treatment of Natives by Europeans, though it is said that Job Charnock, the first Governor of Calcutta, used while at dinner to have delinquents flogged that he might satiate himself with their cries, (he had himself been scourged and imprisoned by the Nawab) yet the treatment of natives by the authorities was generally kind and considerate. The Court of Directors was very severe on any parties convicted of treating them badly, though there was a practice enforced in parts of the country, that if a native, when riding, met an European, he was to dismount until the latter had passed; in Chinsurah, among the Dutch, the natives were obliged not only to do this but to play on their instruments of music when the Governor passed in his palankin through the streets.

An account is given in 1765 in Calcutta of one Radha Tagore, banyan to a solicitor, who, after repeated unsuccessful attempts to get a bill paid by a Member of Council, said the delay would involve heavy law expenses, the Councillor then ordered his peons to seize Tagore, and convey him to the Cutchery, when without any trial he was tied up, severely flogged, and beat on the head with his own slipper "for his insolence." The banyan class to which Tagore belonged were very wealthy and very miserly; they managed the European's money matters as the Kerani did his writing. Their history, as well as that of gomastahs, forms a curious feature in Indian Society.

The natives saw little of their English masters then except in the way of trade or political negotiation. Among the men whose names crop up is that of Omichand, known after 1747. He left charities in all parts of the world; his executors remitted to England £175 to the Magdalen, and £175 to the Foundling hospitals, besides £5,000, the interest of which was to be annually applied to those institutions. Is it so? He also left R. 25,000 towards building a church.

Nundcomar, who was Fauzdar of Hooghly, is too well known to history. Gobardhan Mitter was a famous man in his day, and has given his name to a Ghat.

Nabakissen came forward in Clive's time. Living in an obscure village, Panchgay, near Diamond Harbour, he supplied the English refugees there with provisions in spite of the prohibition of the Nawab, and he brought them valuable information relating to the Nawab's movements. He set an example of public spirit by presenting to Government the old burying ground and the land adjoining it on which St. John's Church is built, (the old magazine had stood on it;) he spent a large sum of money in constructing a road called *Rajah's jangal*, 32 miles long, from Behala to Culpi; he occasionally gave balls, natches and suppers to the English community.

The Nawab of Chitpore was an important personage; he had a fine palace and magnificent gardens near Chitpore, and frequently gave grand parties to the English.

Jaggat Sett is said to have been worth ten crores; the Setts were worth millions; they were the bankers of those days, both to the English and the Nawab, but they soon declined. Two of them met a melancholy end, having been drowned near Monghyr by order of Kasim Ali Khan; the only remnants of the family now are pensioners on the bounty of Government.

The Rajah of Burdwan had great power. It was the insurrection in his country that led to the erection of the Old Fort in 1696; he, in a quarrel with the English about 1755, stopped all their trade in Bengal. The annual produce of his estate amounted probably to 80 lacs.

Young Bengal made his appearance in 1780 in the person of one Raja Ramlochun, who made a visit to an eminent attorney, equipped in boots, buckskin breeches, hunting frock and jockey cap. The Nawab Sadaat Ali came to Calcutta, and is said to have purchased an admiral's uniform, two canonicals, and a pair of wigs. A skit in a newspaper about 1780 says, "the poor oppressed natives here are already providing themselves with bear-skin breeches instead of buckskin; they are, however, prejudiced against the wigs." Another states, "the Juti-wallahs and makers of native shoes in Calcutta are about to petition the Supreme Council against the luxury of the Bengali banyans and Sircars, who keep palkees, phætons and buggies by which shoes, that formerly lasted only from ten to twelve days, last them now as many months."

Feasting Brahmins was common, and lacs upon lacs were spent on it. Much money was spent in processions, which were frequent, and excited great zeal, and at times collisions.

The *Keranchi*, now so despised and nearly extinct, was a fashionable vehicle for native gentlemen; it was an imitation of the old English family coach.

The native houses were nearly all covered with thatch, hence fires were very common, often of an incendiary kind. A cocoanut shell full of fire was covered over with a brick and tied over with a string, two holes being left in the brick that the wind might blow the fire out. About 1780 a fellow was detected at Moorshedabad setting fire to a house by throwing the *ticka* of his *hukah* in the *chuppers;* he was tried, and sentenced to have his left hand and right foot cut off. We find in April 1780, a fire broke out in the Barabazar, which consumed 700 houses; the same month one broke out in the Dhurumtola, which burned every house down between that and the Jaun Bazar; upwards of 20 people were burned to death, with a great number of cattle, sheep and fowls.

Portuguese was the language for servants, and a kind of *lingua franca* in Calcutta; religious services were held in it. Kiernander, the first missionary in Calcutta, baptized in 1769 a Bengali, who is said to have made such proficiency in the Portuguese tongue, that "as a Catechist to the Bengali caste, he was able from the Portuguese to explain the doctrines of Christianity in their own language." Persian was the language of diplomacy and the Courts. In it the English transacted business both with Natives and Armenians. Through his skill in it Nabakissen, from being Clive's Munshi in 1760, rose to great influence and wealth.

Bengali was little known; it was considered the language of fishermen—a poor mongrel dialect unworthy of study. How are times changed! Bolst, so noted in Calcutta quarrels, was one of the first who knew it. Sitting one day as alderman to try a case, he found the complainant profess to translate a document from Bengali. He did it fluently, but Bolst looking over his shoulder, found there was not a word of Bengali, and all the translation was his own invention. In those days many cases like this occurred without there being a Bolst to detect. In 1765, the natives presented a petition to Government to have the English laws translated into Bengali. There were perhaps at that time not a dozen natives in all Calcutta who could understand them in English.

Ramkomal Sen, a native who has evinced considerable taste for antiquarian research, in the valuable preface to his Dictionary, states:—

"The English first visited Bengal about the year 1620. On their arrival at, and first settlement, in Gobindpore in Sootanooty, the natives did not dare

approach them, not being able to understand what they said; business was accordingly transacted by gestures and signs of the body.

"In 1680, the old Fort was erected as a warehouse of the Company, in which many natives of Calcutta were employed. Some years before this, an English man-of-war came up the river and anchored near the Botanic Garden, when the Commanding Officer sent to the *Basákhs*, or *Setts*, then a great family, and employed in supplying piece goods to the English merchants, and requested them to send him a *Dubas* or *Dhobhasia*, a word which in the language of the Coast means a *Sircar*, or one who knows two languages. This class of men had proved themselves very useful to the English at Madras. The *Basákhs*, who were weavers by caste, were known to the English Merchants long before this; for they had an extensive manufacture of Gurrah cloths, which they sold to the Company. They had several *Dhobas*, or washermen in their employ. The *Basákhs* were surprised at the request; and did not comprehend what the English Commander required of them. At length the whole of their family assembled, and held a consultation, as to what was to be done, when after a great deal of discussion one of the wisest men in the family said that he believed the Naval Officer wanted a *Dhoba* to wash their wearing apparel. They proposed therefore to send one of their washermen named ————, but the poor man did not readily consent to go, and his family was much grieved. At last he was prevailed upon to undertake the enterprise, which was then considered as an expedition to the north pole. It was the custom of the Hindoos never to approach a superior with empty hands, but to take something in the shape of a nuzzar or present; a practice which has ever been much in use, particularly among the ship sircars. Such nuzzars consist of plantains, pumplenusses and sugarcandy. A present like this the *Dhoba* took with him to offer to the Naval Commander. This extraordinarily brave man went in a little boat abreast of the man-of-war, which received him with a salute. He was taken upon deck and received by the officers in a manner quite novel, such as he had never experienced before. After the usual ceremonies, the man was discharged with bags of gold and other precious articles, and afterwards continued one of the principal native servants of the Company for many years.

"The Dhoba by frequent intercourse with the English learned their language, in about the same perfection as the Lalbazar bearers, who are frequently to be seen surrounding the sailors when they land. He may be considered the first English scholar among the natives of Calcutta.

"In 1774 the Supreme Court was established here, and from this period a knowledge of the English language appeared to be desirable and necessary. In tracing the progress made, it appears that a Brahmin named *Rámrám Misra* was the first who made any considerable progress in the English language, but it is not known how he learnt it, or by whom he was taught. He himself taught several Baboos and amongst them *Ramnarain Misra*, a clerk to an attorney of the Supreme Court, who was considered to be a scholar and a great lawyer into the bargain, for he could draw up petitions and knew the forms and practice of the pernicious system of law which has ruined almost every family of note in Calcutta who were subject to its jurisdiction. By it he made his fortune, there not being his equal at the time. He afterwards kept a school, in which he taught a number of Hindoo youth, and received from them a monthly fee of from Rs. 4 to 16 each. Before his time, however, there was another individual named *Anandiram Doss*, who knew a still greater number of English words than *Ramnarain*. This man had a vocabulary or collection of words which was considered a treasure of English knowledge, and a number

of young Hindoos used to attend daily upon him for hours and to wait his pleasure and convenience to get some scraps from his book. This pious philanthropist used to give out five or six words every day for their study."

How are the mighty fallen! Nearly allied in race and feeling to the natives are the Portuguese. The first European conquerors in India, how degenerate at the time when the English had erected their fort in Calcutta in 1680! Portuguese prestige had given way to Dutch and French. Hooghly, with its fort, was their only possession left, and the descendants of Albuiquerque resorted to piracy. They had desolated the Sunderbunds, and carried on the slave trade with a high hand; they have left few traces in last century, though their language was commonly spoken, and was the medium of intercourse with servants. The words *caste* and *compound* are the few relics left of the Portuguese.

The Portuguese were employed by the English as Artillerymen previous to 1751, and called *topas*, from *tōp* a gun. They are described as "a black degenerate offspring of the ancient Portuguese, not to be depended on, not one in ten of whom was fit to be a soldier." Lord Valentia in 1805, referring to the profusion of dishes on the dinner tables, complains "they were to the no small satisfaction of birds and beasts of prey, for the lower orders of the Portuguese, to whom alone they would be serviceable, cannot consume the whole."

A glance now at a few classes of Society.

Young Civilians had to rough it; they had not then their Fort-William College, where champagne was drunk *a là discretion*, and when racing and gambling were the occupations. As the palankin last century was the vehicle of honor, there was an order of the Court of Directors about 1757, complaining of the luxurious habits of their junior servants, and, as an instance, that they went to office in a palankin. Its use was consequently prohibited, and only allowed subsequently as a great favor to go to office in, in the hot weather and rains. The palankin was arched, and the Dutch Governor at Chinsurah used to sit in a chair in his, as did some in Calcutta. We find that in 1767, two hundred ryots fell prostrate before the Governor of Calcutta's palki, to present a petition to be allowed to make salt.

The *Griff*, or new arrival, was a constant subject of ridicule last century in the Calcutta press, particularly the king's officers, who were thorough griffs as well as old griffs.

The *old Indian* came in for his share; the man who had forgotten Europe, and sat down for life engrossed with his curries and zenanas.

Tailors made then as now large profits; one that came out in 1763, after ten years' residence, gave his friends a dinner served on plate, and shortly after retired to Europe with a fortune of two lacs of rupees; milliners were still more fortunate, to the dismay of husbands, who were observed to turn pale as ashes on the bare mention of their wives being seen to enter milliner's shops. Four master tailors advertise in 1780, that as they have to pay the merchants in sicca rupees so they must be paid in the same.

Confectioners and watchmakers were at an early period in Calcutta, so were pawn-brokers and auctioneers. The auction shops of Calcutta were famous rendezvous for killing time. Freemasons were established in Calcutta in 1728. In 1732, the Provincial Grand Master sent from his Lodge at Bengal, for the use of the Grand Lodge of England, a chest of the best arrack. In 1755, Roger Drake was elected Provincial Grand Master, but it is to be hoped that on hearing of his cowardly conduct in Calcutta, they deposed him.

The Armenians came to India, some by the Persian Gulph, others by Khorasan, Candahar, and Kabul to Delhi. They were among the earliest settlers, coming gradually from Guzerat and Surat to Benares and Behar. They settled in Chinsurah soon after the Dutch settlement of 1625. On the foundation of Calcutta, 1690, the Armenians, in common with the Portuguese, accepted the invitation of the Governor Charnock, to settle there, and flourished, so that in 1757 they received as compensation for their losses seven lacs of rupees; they were pioneers in the Central Asia trade, which has yet a great future before it.

The *Greeks*, who are now merchant princes, came to Calcutta about 1750. Their church was erected in consequence of a vow that Argyrea, a Greek Merchant made, when overtaken by a violent gale,—that if preserved, he would found a Greek Church in Calcutta. Warren Hastings headed the subscription to it with Rs. 2,000.

The *Dutch* were very severe towards natives, the same in Bengal as in Batavia. It is told of the Dutch fiscal at Chinsurah, that on finding any fault with his banyan, he used to fine him Rs. 20 or 30, and if he did not pay the money at once, he was tied up and whipped until it was paid.

The Dutch ladies at Chinsurah are represented as fond of parties and dancing; lolling on a sofa in the morning, sleeping in the after-noon, and up half the night. They figured often in the Fancy Balls given at Chinsurah, which used to be attended by the English from Calcutta, and by the French from Chandernagore, in their palankins.

Let us next take a view of the houses. From an early period, as soon as the English could live securely away from their Fort, they began to build houses in the centre of spacious gardens; ground was cheap, and domestic seclusion was pleasant. Chowringhee was then out of town in the woods, and the first move to build garden houses was in that direction; which spread gradually as the names of streets in Chowringhee indicate. Sir W. Jones lived as far down as Garden Reach, and used to walk every day to the Supreme Court. Sir R. Chambers, the Oriental Scholar, took up his quarters at Bhowanipore, where he was serenaded at night by the tigers' howl. General Dickinson lived out at Dakhinessur. The Dum-Dum and Baraset roads are referred to in 1747 and in 1757; when the Governor of Calcutta used occasionally to spend a few days at Baraset. Some were fond, even before that period, of living out of town. Job Charnock, as early as 1690, had a country bungalow at Barrackpore; his name is perpetuated in the term Chanak applied by natives to Barrackpore.

When Lord Teignmouth arrived at Calcutta in 1769, not more than three houses were furnished with venetians or glass windows; solid shutters or rattans like those used for the bottom of chairs were in vogue. The houses were generally of one story, though raised with steps to them; the doors and windows were small to keep out the heat; there were few verandahs, they had arched windows instead; the furniture was scant as it was dear, and it was thought to harbor snakes and vermin. The houses were approached by a flight of steps with great projecting portions, or surrounded by colonnades or arcades.

In 1780, we find there were garden houses in Balligunge, Russapagla, Baitakhanah, Alipore, opposite Thannah Fort, at Dakhinessur beyond Baranagar, Mirzapore, and at Sukhsaugor near Hooghly. Mr. Stofts had a plantation, where he used to receive Warren Hastings. We have an account of Warren Hastings on his return with his lady receiving a salute of 21 guns from the Dutch fort at Chinsurah. Hastings had a bungalow at Birkul below Kedgeree, where he

occasionally entertained his friends, and enjoyed the sea breezes. Baraset was the scene of festive parties about 1780.

Excursions were occasionally made to Fulta, which then had a fine hotel. The Dutch ships remained there. River trips were made to Chandernagore and to Bandel, called the Montpellier of India, noted for its gaiety and debauchery; to Baranagore, a gay place, the Dutch halfway house between Fulta and Chinsurah. Gurretti, the French Versailles, attracted many by its gardens, in which 120 carriages have been on the occasion of gay parties. Belvidere, in 1770, was occupied by Governor Cartier, who used to give parties there, his friends riding to the place, as there was no carriage road.

As to the mental food of Calcutta, there was a public *Library* in the old Fort as early as 1770; new books were supplied once a year. A Mr. Andrew, who had a circulating library, complains in 1780 of the loss he sustained owing to "gentlemen going away, and in their hurry not recollecting their being subscribers to the library, or having any books belonging thereto." In those days books only came once a year from England; printing charges were 500 per cent. higher than now: we have seen a book of 142 pp. 12mo. printed in Calcutta 1803, and sold to non-subscribers at Rs. 24 a copy.

Hickey's Gazette started in 1780 as an "antibilious specific," but it grew so scurrilous that, on November 14th, 1780, appeared an order of Government prohibiting its circulation through the channel of the General Post Office on account of its lately having been found to contain several improper paragraphs tending to vilify private characters, and to disturb the peace of the settlement. Hickey employed 20 hurkarras to distribute his paper, and stated he would persist in his opposition to Government, though he should have to compose ballads and sell them through the streets of Calcutta as Homer did. His career ended in a jail, after long battling it out. The Government soon after started a *Gazette*; there was another called the *Monitorial Gazette*. Mr. Kiernander, a Missionary, in 1780, had a printing press.

As to education, there were few native schools except on the Gurumahashay system. Mr. Hodges, about 1780, advertises a Government school near the Armenian Church for teaching reading, writing and needle work. Another advertises "a boy's boarding school beyond Chitpore Bridge, opposite the avenue leading to the Nawab's garden, reading, writing and arithmetic taught Rs. 50 monthly, at the master's table, at a separate one Rs. 30, he does not intend to

take more than 14 boys unless he gets an assistant." In 1781, Mr. Griffith has a boarding school in his garden house near the Baitokhanah, where "young gentlemen are genteelly boarded, tenderly treated and expeditiously taught," but the moral tone of these schools was generally very low.

We have reached the limits we assigned to this article, which merely *glances* at some of the leading points regarding Calcutta. There are various other branches of the subject that afford ample scope, such as the Jews of Calcutta, (is it true they had to yield the palm in cleverness and acuteness in business matters to the Bengali?)—the Greeks—the East Indians—the Moguls, their numbers and social position last century—the Mussulmans, their condition last century contrasted with this,—the Parsees—the Sikhs—the Free Masons—the Chinese—the Adventurer or Interloper.

I now conclude with proposing some topics which, as supplemental to the paper, I hope may elicit answers for our Association from our Native friends.

In a conversation I had with the late Professor Wilson, 20 years ago, he urged on me to get something done towards preserving the traditions and reminiscences of old native families in Calcutta; little has been done towards this.*

The *origin of the names of streets.* In the present American rage for modernizing names it is important to preserve this. The names of a variety of individuals and circumstances are embalmed in these; thus Govindram Mitre's Ghat recalls the name and history of the millionaire of last century,—Cossitollah, the butchers of last century.

Pundits, Kathaks, Gurus, Kabirajes, Yogis, Witches, their social position, emoluments, knowledge, how different from the present time.

The *police,* dakaity and criminal classes—the life of a *dakait.*
The habit of *drinking* spirits—its rise and progress.
Bara, China and Dhuramtola *bazars,* their rise and progress.

Anecdotes illustrative of *Jatras, Satis, Slavery, Banyans, Caste, Shraddhas, Pujas,* the *Charak* human sacrifices, *Servants,*—were

---

* I hail with pleasure the appearance of three recent works on this subject, a brief *account of the Tagore family*—the *life of Ramdulal Dey* the Bengali Millionaire, and Sketch of *Raja Radhakant Deva.*

they better treated or better paid than now?—The life of a Khansamah. *Shroffs, Banyans, Mahajans,* their past position.

The Bengali language and literature, anecdotes illustrative of.

The Mahomedans, their social position last century.

The PRESIDENT expressed his great regret that the lateness of the hour had prevented Mr. Long from reading more than a fraction of his paper, and rendered it quite impossible for him, the President, to invite discussion. He thought that the thanks of the Association were due to Mr. Long for bringing this topic under its consideration. Although Calcutta was young, as the age of cities is reckoned, still it had witnessed numerous historical events of vast importance; and its own development was but the index of the rise and progress of the now mighty empire of India. Side by side with this had gone on social changes, which could not fail to command the interest of all native residents of this Province. Surely there must be material in the family archives of Hindu and Mahomedan gentlemen, which would prove most valuable to the historian and most interesting to the public if it could be brought to light. And the stirring incidents of a time, not long past, might receive elucidation and description from persons, scarcely removed from the position of eye witnesses of what they could relate. He urged upon the members of the Association to follow out the suggestions of Mr. Long and bring in to the common store all the scattered elements of tradition and observation which lay within their reach.

LIST OF PRESENTATIONS FROM GOVERNMENT AND OTHER SOURCES FROM JANUARY TO JUNE 1868.

FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Selections from the Records of the Government of India, No. LIX, containing—		
Report on the Political Administration of Rajpootana for 1865-66 to 1866-67, Part II	2	copies.
Report on the Administration of the Punjab for 1866-67 ...	1	copy.
Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for 1866-67	1	„
Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency for 1866-67	1	„
Report on the Administration of the N. W. Provinces for 1866-67	1	„
Appendices to Report on the Administration of the N. W. Provinces for 1866-67	1	„
Appendices to Report on the Administration of the Central Provinces for 1866-67	1	„
Appendices to Report on the Administration of the British Burmah for 1866-67	1	„
Report on the Revenue Administration of the Province of Oude for the year ending 30th September 1867, Part II ...	1	„
Report of the High Court, N. W. Provinces, Vol. I, No. VI ...	1	„
Report of the High Court, N. W. Provinces, Vol. II, Nos. I to V	5	copies.
Report of the High Court, N. W. Provinces, Vol. IV, No. I ...	1	copy.
Report of the High Court, N. W. Provinces, Full Bench Rulings from July to December 1867	1	„
Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. LXIII	2	copies.
Report on the Administration of the Police, N. W. Provinces, for 1866...	1	copy.
Report on the Forest Administration, Central Provinces, for 1866-67	1	„

FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

Report on Leprosy by the Royal College of Physicians, London ...	1	copy.
Mill's Report of Sylhet	1	„
Report on the Administration of the Calcutta Municipality for 1867	1	„
Report on the Administration of the Jails of the Lower Provinces of Bengal Presidency for 1866-67	1	„
Prevalence of organic diseases of the spleen	1	„
Annual Report of the Lahore Lunatic Asylum for 1867	1	„
A Paper on cattle disease, by K. McLeod, M. D....	1	„
Report on the Police of Calcutta for 1867	1	„
Records of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. I, Part I, for 1868...	1	„

List of Presentations.

From other Sources.

Thirty-seventh Report of the District Charitable Society, with a List of Subscribers and Donors	1 copy.
An Essay on Oliver Cromwell, by Baboo Chunder Nath Bose ...	1 „
Dr. Waldie's Address delivered at the Burranagore Social Improvement Society	1 „
A simple plan for circulating throughout India a State Paper Currency, from the Author	4 copies.

From Miss Carpenter.

Address to the East India Association on Education and Reformatory Treatment	1 copy.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Abdul Latif, Maulubi, Calcutta.
Abul Hosain, Syed, Gya.
Amir Hosain, Syed, Bhaugulpore.
Anderson, J., M. D., Calcutta.
Atkinson, W. S., Calcutta.

Bainbridge, A. J. R., C. S., Burdwan.
Banerjee, Durgágati, Patna.
———, Gopalchandra, Calcutta.
———, K. M., Revd., Calcutta.
———, Kunjalál, Bhawanipore.
———, Pyárimohan, Calcutta.
———, Sasi Pada, Calcutta.
———, Umeschandra, Calcutta.
———, W. C., Calcutta.
Barál, Premchand, Calcutta.
Barton, Revd. J., Calcutta.
Basák, Gaurdás, Purulia.
Bayley, S. C., C. S., Calcutta.
Beebee M. L., Calcutta.
Best, A. V., M. D., Calcutta.
Beveridge, H., C. S., England.
Beverley, H., C. S., England.
Bignold, T. F., C. S., Balasore.
Blanford, H. F., Calcutta.
Blochman, J. B., Calcutta.
Bose, Bhagabanchandra, Furreedpore.
——, Chandranath, M. A., Calcutta.
——, Kailáschandra, Calcutta.
——, Lakhmináráyan, Calcutta.
——, Mohes Chandra, Bhulluah.
——, Nilmádhab, Calcutta.
——, Syámchánd, Calcutta.
Bourke, W. F., Calcutta.
Bowerman, J. G., Calcutta.
Bradford, C. V., Calcutta.
Branson, J. H. A., Calcutta.
Bromehead, E., Revd., Calcutta.
Browne, J. F., Bhaugulpore.

Campbell, G., Hon'ble, C. S., England.
———, J., Assam.
Carpenter, Mary, Miss, England.
Carstairs, J. S., C. S., Calcutta.
Chandra, Biháriláł, Calcutta.
———, Srináth, Calcutta.
Chatterjee, Bankimchandra, Barripore.
———, Chandrakumár, Calcutta.
Chatterjee, Khetramohan, Calcutta.
———, Trannáth, Calcutta.
Chuckerbutty, Girendramohan, M. A., Bhawanipore.
———, S. G., M. D., Calcutta.
Coates, J. M., M. D., Hazareebaugh.
Cornell, W., C. S., Rungpore.
Coxhead, T. E., C. S., Jessore.
Crawford, J. A., C. S., Calcutta.
Croft, A. C., Calcutta.

Daliluddin, Maulubi, Calcutta.
Dall, C. H. A., Revd., Calcutta.
Dás, Gurucharan, Jungypore.
——, Nilmani, Chittagong.
Datt, Darikánáth, Calcutta.
——, Debendrachandra, Calcutta.
——, Debendranáth, Calcutta.
——, Gurudás, Calcutta.
——, Kedárnáth, Dinagepore.
——, Khetranáth, Calcutta.
——, Udaychandra, Pooree.
Davis, W. P., Calcutta.
De, Kánáilál, G. M. C. B. Calcutta.
—, Lálbihári, Revd., Berhampore.
—, Netralál, Burdwan.
—, Nilmani, Calcutta.
Deb, Harendra Krisna, Kumár, Calcutta.
——, Kailáschandra, Bhawanipore.
——, Sibchandra, Connogur.
Dhar, Biháriláł, Calcutta.
Dickens, P., C. S., Calcutta.
Dickenson, J. C., Calcutta.
Donough, T. A., Dakhin Shabazpore.
Driberg, J., Revd., Calcutta.
Drummond, R., Hon'ble, Bareilly.
Duff, P. W., Calcutta.

Ewart, J., M. D., Calcutta.

Fagan, G. S., Calcutta.
Farquhar, T., M. D., Calcutta.
Fawcus, J., M. D., Calcutta.
Fayrer, J., M. D., Calcutta.
Fenn, S., Calcutta.
Field, C. D., Calcutta.
——, G., Patna.
Francis, C. R., M. D., Calcutta.

Ganguli, Dinanáth, Mogul Serai.
Garrett, C. B., C. S., Arrah.
Gay, E., Calcutta.
Ghose, Girischandra, Baloor.
——, Gopimohan, Paikparah.
——, Gopináth, Bhaugulpore.
——, Jadunáth, Calcutta.
——, Manamohan, Calcutta.
——, Mathurnáth, Bhaugulpore.
——, Rasbihári, M. A., Bhowánipur.
Ghosál, Issarchandra, Calcutta.
Gillon, E. A., Calcutta.
Gray, H. A., Calcutta.
Grimley, W. H., C. S., Hooghly.

Harding, Miss, Calcutta.
Harkness, T. F., C. S., Moradabad, N. W. P.
Harris, H. N., Burdwan.
Harrison, H. L., C. S., Calcutta.
Hirjeebhoy Manockjee Rustomjee, Calcutta.
Hirons, J. G., Calcutta.
Hopkins, J. A., Kishnaghur.

Jackson, L. S., Hon'ble, C. S., Calcutta.
Jennings, S., Calcutta.

Kellner, G. W., Calcutta.
Knight, J. B., Calcutta.

Law, Ramánáth, Calcutta.
Lazarus, C., Calcutta.
Lindsay, A. M., Calcutta.
Lloyd, T. H., Calcutta.
Lobb, S., Hooghly.
Locke, H. H., Calcutta.
Long, J., Revd., Calcutta.
Lynch, S. S., M. D., Calcutta.

Mackenzie, A., C. S., Calcutta.
Madocks, H. R., C. S., Bhaugulpore.
Majumdár, Baradákánt, Midnapore.
Malleson, G. B., Major, Calcutta.
Mallik, Abhaycharan, Calcutta.
———, Jadu Lál, Calcutta.
———, Prasáddás, Calcutta.
———, Subalchandra, Calcutta.
———, Táraknáth, Calcutta.
Manockjee Rustomjee, Calcutta.
Mitra, Darikánáth, Hon'ble, Cossipore.
———, Girischandra, Calcutta.
———, Kásissar, Calcutta.
———, Kisorichánd, Cossipore.
———, Pyárichand, Calcutta.
———, Rájendranáth, Calcutta.
———, Rámchandra, Calcutta.
Moses, G. O., Calcutta.
Mouat, F. J., M. D., Calcutta.
Muir, Sir William, K. C. S. I., Allahabad.
Mukerjee, Bhudeb, Chinsurah.
———, Jagadánand, Calcutta.
———, Káminikumod, Chittagong.
———, Khetranáth, Calcutta.
Murray, Mrs., Calcutta.

Nandi, Chandranáth, Gowhatty.
Nicholson, Miss, Calcutta.
Norman, F. B., Major, Calcutta.
———, J. P., Hon'ble, Calcutta.

Orr, J. C., Calcutta.

Pande, Gopiballabh, Pakour.
Phear, J. B., Hon'ble, Calcutta.
Piffard, C., Calcutta.
Pradhan, Indranáráyan, Kukrohatty.
Puckle, J., Major, Bangalore.

Quinn, C. C., C. S., Jessore.

Ráy, Bhupati, Mozufferpore.
——, Bissunchand, Benares.
——, Chandranáth Kumár, Nattore.
——, Luchmichánd, Benares.
——, Narsing Das, Benares.
——, Pramathnáth Kumár, Diggaputteah.
——, Prasanna Kumár, Calcutta.
Remfrey, J., England.
Robb, Gordon, Calcutta.
Roberts, J. B., Calcutta.
Robinson, J., Revd., Calcutta.
———, T. H., Calcutta.
Roussac, A. G., Calcutta.

Samuells, W. L., Lieutenant, Hazareebagh.
Sanyal, Dinabandhu, Monghyr.
Sarafuddin, Syed, Lucknow.
Saranji, U. C., Cuttack.
Sarbádhikári, Prasannakumár, Calcutta.
Sarkár, Isánchandra, Calcutta.
———, Srikumár, Calcutta.
———, Syamácharan, Calcutta.
Schiller, F., Calcutta.
Sen, Muralidhar, Calcutta.
——, Narendranáth, Calcutta.
——, Srináth, Calcutta.
Sil, Gobindchand, Calcutta.
Sime, John, Calcutta.
Singha, Dárikánáth, Calcutta.
———, Káliprasanna, Calcutta.
Sitalprasád, Munsi, Benares.
Smith, G., L. L. D., Serampore.
Some, Mahendralál, Calcutta.
Souttar, W. M., C. S., Calcutta.

Stephen, C., Delhi.
Stephenson, C. Revd., Calcutta.
Stevens, C. C., C. S., Shahabad.
Stewart, Duncan J., Lieut., 4th Goorkhas, Jullunder.
Stuart, E. C., Revd., Calcutta.

Tagore, Debendranáth, Calcutta.
———, Dijendranáth, Calcutta.
———, Utendranandan, Calcutta.
Tawney, C., Calcutta.
Temple, Sir Richard, C. S. I., Calcutta.
Tonnerre, F., Calcutta.
Tottenham, L. R., C. S., Howrah.
Trevor, Tudor, Madras.
Turnbull, R., Calcutta.

Wheeler, J. Talboys, Calcutta.
Wilson, J., Calcutta.
Wilson, R. H., C. S., Patna.
Woodrow, H., M. A., Calcutta.
Wynn, W. T., Calcutta.


00110118

Digitized with financial assistance from



HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 28 December, 2018